

صكنا من الامل



Monday November 4 1996

Table of international exchange rates for various countries including Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, and USA.

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 45,701

Bernard Manning: admired and reviled
He's a hero
But is he a villain?

Unrivalled coverage
Sport Extra

Media
Sam Chisholm:
Don't fear the
digital revolution

Clinton: My fears as lead starts to shrink

Exclusive: In his first press interview in two relentless weeks on the campaign trail the United States president talks to **Martin Walker** aboard Air Force One

PRESIDENT BILL Clinton last night revealed his fear that the religious right and the Christian Coalition could snatch the southern states from him and imperil his re-election, as the race tightened in the final hours before tomorrow's United States presidential poll.

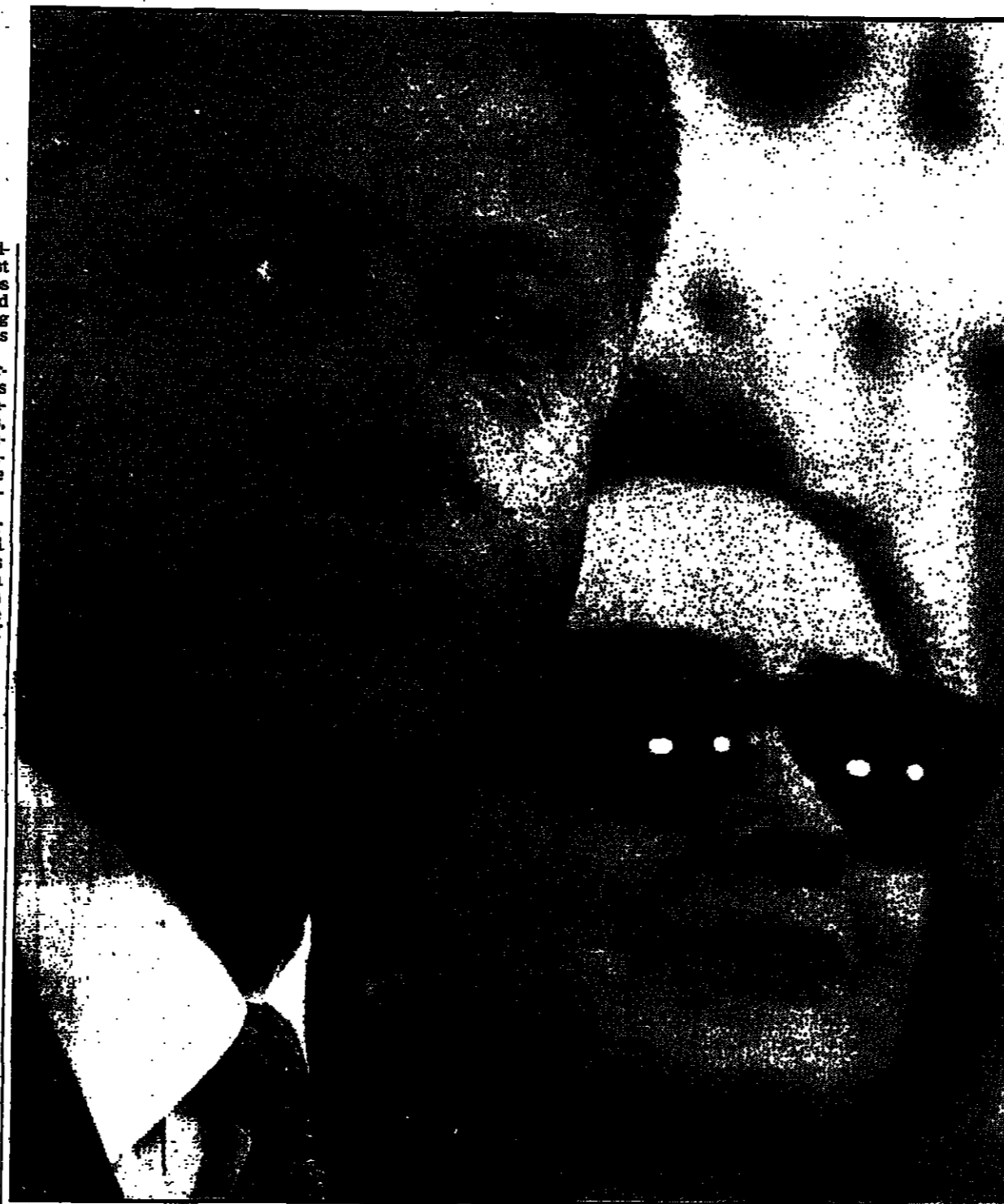
With his lead over the Republican candidate, Bob Dole, shrinking in some opinion polls, President Clinton voiced concern that his personal goal of winning more than 50 per cent of the vote was in jeopardy. The last burst of Democratic campaigning has been refitted to combat the threat from the religious right.

"We've got nothing that can match their Get-Out-The-Vote effort in those southern states," Clinton said during a long conversation last night in his VIP suite aboard Air Force One.

"I reckon the Coalition can make a difference of five points in a lot of states — not just with their own votes but with their dedicated supporters bringing others to the polls," he said.

"I was five points up in Georgia last time, and the Coalition hauled it back to seven-tenths of 1 per cent. I had a three-point lead in North Carolina on the week-end before the election, and they snatched it away from me," he complained, leaning off the voting data from memory.

The Christian Coalition yesterday distributed 45 million Voter Information cards



Bill and Hillary Clinton at a campaign rally in San Antonio, Texas, at the weekend. PHOTOGRAPH: GREG GIBSON

from more than 30,000 affiliated churches. The cards list the position of all candidates for the presidency and Congress on issues including abortion, prayer in schools and parental rights.

Although lent an appearance of neutrality, the cards give devout voters a recommended list of candidates with an overwhelming anti-Democratic bias. The Coalition has also set up telephone banks to reach 5 million voters today and tomorrow.

"We are rejigging our whole schedule for these final days of campaigning with this Christian Coalition factor in mind," Mr Clinton said in the only press interview he has granted in two weeks of furious campaigning.

A last-minute television advertisement featuring a Baptist minister advising voters that the Church is not politically partisan has been screened across the Bible Belt of the south, west and border states — a new element in a television blitz on which the Clinton campaign spends up to \$2 billion a day.

The president had changed out of his campaigning suit and into a crisp pressed denim shirt and blue jeans as we chatted. He was wearing a brand new pair of crocodile-skin cowboy boots, just presented to him in Texas. Putting the size 12s up on the arm of the chair for me to admire, he said: "Ain't they terrific? You see these little bumps on the toes? They're even got the smudges on. I love these kinda boots. I've got a favourite pair that's 12 years old."

A steward served fizzy water as the president turned down a pizza or snacks. Carefully washing his diet on the campaign trail, he repeated trim and fit, and 20lb lighter than on his last campaign.

Mr Clinton has scheduled extra stops in crucial states, such as Florida, Texas, Kentucky, Iowa and Louisiana, to energise Democratic Party activists to counter the religious right. His concern is not only for his re-election, which looks overwhelmingly likely — although his lead is dropping into single figures — but for Democratic election and Congress members whose hopes of winning back a majority are fading.

Mr Clinton's stable-digit

lead has shrunk as undecided voters have made up their minds. States which appeared secure, such as Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky and Florida, are now almost even, and Mr Dole's lead has increased in Texas, North and South Carolina.

Mr Clinton's personal target of winning more than 50 per cent of the vote, to claim the mandate that ended him in his first term, is in real jeopardy, unless campaigning in '92, when I could shift destinations in a minute. The secret service, security arrangements. It's a big deal to suddenly say we're going to add a state."

But states have been added to the itinerary at the last minute, including Maine and South Dakota, for a 17-state final blitz. The success of this tactic is uncertain. There have been triumphant rallies in Texas and New Mexico, but Mr Clinton attracted a disappointingly small crowd in his home town of Little Rock, Arkansas, on Saturday, and yesterday in West Palm Beach.

"Think how far your ancestors walked, think how many bled and died to give you the right to vote," Mr Clinton told a black church congregation in Tampa, Florida, yesterday.

"As we get closer to the election, the work passes from my hands to yours... If you ever doubt whether the people are the boss in a democracy, run for office. Even the president is just a hired hand."

Dole's last roll of the dice, page 2; Economics, page 11

Dorrell goes to the wire to raise NHS spending

Michael White
Political Editor

JOHN Major was last night struggling to broker a public expenditure compromise between his Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, and Stephen Dorrell, the Health Secretary, which would square the circle on his electioneering promises to cut taxes and raise spending on the NHS.

With Mr Clarke's fourth budget just three weeks away, Mr Dorrell's determination to hold Mr Major to his conference pledge of higher NHS spending every year was pushing settlement of the annual public spending round further into November — almost a month later than usual.

It was also making it harder for Mr Clarke to deliver promised tax and spending cuts which some Tories believe can save the election. As honest broker, Mr Major may have to force a "trade-off" between health and education.

At a special cabinet meeting tomorrow, a final deal involving the two departments, as well as Michael Howard's law and order budget, could be ratified, if reached in time.

If not, there will be what one official tersely called "collective discussion at which some people will have to accept the logic of collective decisions" — Whitehall-speak for arm-twisting by the Cabinet on recalcitrant colleagues.

"Dorrell is going to the wire on this one," said one Whitehall source as some Tory insiders reported that the three men — plus William Waldegrave, Chief Secretary to the Treasury — had met at Number 10 again yesterday after a week of spending negotiations "every day." The Department of Health said it had no knowledge of such a meeting.

With NHS professionals predicting the toughest winter for the health service since 1987, Mr Dorrell's hopes of extracting the extra money he seeks — nearly £1 billion on top of 2.5 per cent inflation for the £34 billion a year NHS — can only be at the expense of key colleagues under the spending rules operated by the cabinet's EDX committee since 1993.

The ace in Mr Dorrell's hand is that cash shortages are already so bad in the NHS this winter, after a tight spending settlement a year ago, that only the certain prospect of relief when the new financial year starts in April will allow hospital trusts to muddle through until then.

Mr Clarke and Mr Waldegrave have both held the health job and know the stark realities. Under the slogan "fiscal prudence", the Chancellor has repeatedly played down expectations of the kind of dramatic cuts in the basic 24p rate of income tax — 2p or more — that would please the Tory Right and the tabloids, let alone cuts in inheritance and capital gains taxes that Mr Major wants to see as part of his campaign to snatch a



Turn to page 2, column 1

In Wednesday's paper, *The Guardian's* unrivalled US team of **Martin Walker**, **Jonathan Freedland** and **Gary Youngs** will provide the best up-to-the-minute reaction, analysis and interpretation of the presidential poll as the results roll in.

Murdoch 'closer to tapping into BT network'

Nicholas Bannister and Mark Tran

THE PROSPECT of Rupert Murdoch broadcasting television programmes over British Telecom's phone network moved a step closer yesterday as the UK telecom group announced a £12 billion bid for control of MCI, its US partner.

MCI has two major alliances with News Corporation, Mr Murdoch's master company, and has agreed to invest \$2 billion in the company in return for 13 per cent of its shares.

News Corporation and was receiving excellent dividends. But the BT chief executive, Sir Peter Bonfield, was more circumspect. He said that while Mr Murdoch sat next to him on the MCI board, he would not be offered a seat on the board of Concert, as the merged BT/MCI is to be called.

BT wants to be more than a conveyor of other people's information. But it is prevented by legislation from broadcasting across its UK network.

The Government insists that the ban will not be reviewed until 2001, but the Labour Party has indicated

that it would lift it if BT was prepared to provide schools, hospitals, libraries and other public places with links to the information superhighway at no charge.

BT is already working with Mr Murdoch's News International to set up an internet-based on-line information service, BSKyB, 40 per cent owned by News Corporation, is also thought to be in talks with BT about a possible digital TV partnership.

The BT and MCI boards yesterday confirmed details of the planned merger. BT is planning to buy the 30 per cent of MCI which it does not

already own for about £12 billion in what will be Britain's largest and the world's second-largest takeover.

The deal has to be approved by regulatory authorities in the United States, the UK and Europe. But BT's shareholders are to get a £2.3 billion sweetener in the form of a special dividend of 35p a share, whether the deal goes through or not.

BT's chairman, Sir Iain Vallance, and Bert Roberts, his counterpart at MCI, will be co-chairmen of the new group, which will be based in the UK, but have HQs in London and Washington.

Table titled 'How they line-up' showing market share percentages for various telecom companies: AT&T (49%), BT-MCI (33%), Deutsche Telecom (24%), France Telecom (23%), NTT (14%).

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Candidates on the campaign trail are putting in a final surge for tomorrow's finish

Dole's last roll of the dice

Jonathan Freedland in Las Vegas finds the Marathon Man holding up better than his flagging entourage and still with his eyes on a lucky break



LAS VEGAS is loud and tacky. Bob Dole is awkward and reserved. But in the early hours of yesterday morning, the two were a perfect match.

The last-chance candidate was in the city of last chances for one more leg in the 36-hour non-stop campaigning he began on Friday and will halt only at noon tomorrow, when the United States ends the madness and votes.

Mr Dole swept into town at 2am, dragging behind him an entourage exhausted by 41 hours on the road with just 40 minutes in a hotel for a shower and catnap. Mr Dole had sketched out the imagery in advance. He was to be the gambler in Las Vegas to "roll the dice, one more time".

A crowd of dancers had jammed into the ballroom of the MGM Grand Hotel & Casino — with a giant lion's mouth for an entrance — to cross their fingers and will him on. In this last surge, Mr Dole has become one of their own, a believer in the gambler's creed that all it takes to end a losing streak is one lucky break.

But Vegas is also the US boxing capital. The stage was done up as a pseudo-ring with gloves marked Dole and Kemp hanging from the corners.

The Rocky theme blasted on the sound system, and the 73-year-old challenger was introduced as "the Main Event, fighting out of Russell, Kansas, at 6ft 1 and 175lb, with a reach across the entire nation and known for finishing strong in the final round. Ladies and Gentlemen, Battling Bob Dole!"

With the candidate on stage, the flag-wavers watched with extra intensity, to see how the self-inflicted endurance test had affected the candidate. Would his speech slum? Would he fall over? A perverse sport has developed, akin to the marathon dance contests immortalised in *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* People want to see if Mr Dole can survive.

He makes the odd slip, referring to Germany when he means Italy, and he showed signs of wear in Kentucky when he surrendered the microphone after just five minutes. His voice is thick and hoarse, like a man who has just been woken up.

But he looks and sounds better than everyone else. He is tanned, while his daughter Robin has a red nose and the pallor of someone coming down with a cold. Even his wife Elizabeth is ruffled, her hair reduced to half its usual bulk. The hacks following Mr Dole are in rough shape: their hair matted, their tempers frayed.

Still, after months of his being ignored, Mr Dole's submission to the campaign equivalent of a hunger strike has worked. People are paying attention. Admittedly, when he pitched up in New Jersey at 4.30am and tried to speak to truckers on CB radio, no one responded. But, for the first time, Mr Dole leads the television news, and Bill Clinton comes second.

Mr Dole's stump speech is funny and hard-hitting. It is not exactly visionary. He wants to cut taxes by 16 per cent because "It's Your Money". He wants a \$500-a-child tax credit. "If you've got two kids, that's \$1,000. If you've got three kids, that's \$1,500. If you've got 10 — you're probably too busy to fill in your tax returns."

He rails against Mr Clinton's ethical conduct. It is not great oratory, but Mr Dole no longer sounds as if he is reading someone else's words.

The crowds are getting bigger, too. "We can feel the momentum building," he told the casino faithful. But the same happened in the last days of the 1988 campaign of the Democrat Michael Dukakis, who was crushed on election day — as polls predict Mr Dole will be tomorrow.

They say vines fruit most abundantly when about to die. Perhaps nature is allowing Mr Dole one last flourish, before it's all over.



Bob Dole mirrors the gesture of Uncle Sam at a weekend rally in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. PHOTOGRAPH: JIM BOURG

Clinton fights Alamo again

The staging was breathtaking, and so was the president's nerve. Martin Walker, in San Antonio, Texas, on the wooing of the Hispanics



STANDING before the restored gates of the Alamo, on the spot where General Santa Ana had ordered the last assault on the little fortified mission that barred the Mexican invasion of Texas, Bill Clinton found the perfect stage and prop for "the last weekend of my last campaign".

It should have been Bob Dole's place and Bob Dole's day. There could have been no more symbolic spot for the Republican campaigner than the Alamo, a shrine dedicated to history's brave losers, who fought to the end against long odds.

But Mr Clinton got there first. And as the sun blazed, the music from *The Magnificent Seven* blared out as the president and the first lady appeared hand in hand, climbing the steps to the podium, the hazy stones of the most famous fortress in American history glowing eloquently behind them.

It was a moment of breathtaking staging. And with equally breathtaking nerve, Mr Clinton claimed the courage of the Alamo's massacred defenders as his inspiration for vetoing the Republican budget bill last December, the event that closed down the federal government in the great stand-off between president and congress.

"When they shut the government down, I thought about the Alamo. They said the president will cave," he told the packed and cheering crowds in the old mission grounds. "They said the president will blink. And I said I'd a lot rather see the American people hurt for two or three weeks than 20 or 30 years. Shut her down. I'm not gonna buy your budget."

The Alamo was his lodestar for "the new politics of common ground" and of racial tolerance.

"The Alamo is not just a place of great personal courage. It is a place of a great stand-off between two

nations, and the story of the Alamo over the last 180 years is the story of reconciliation between two great nations and two great peoples."

He tap-danced through history to claim the legendary mantle of the Alamo's defenders, to claim Texan ancestry for himself, and a Texan heritage for his policies.

"We represent people who believe that by working together and helping each other, we can all do better."

His plundering of the Alamo metaphor was as relentless as it was unscrupulous. It was deployed even to explain his foreign policy as the peacemaker.

"Think of the Alamo, folks. Think of Bosnia. Think of Northern Ireland. Think of the Middle East. Think of all those tribal wars going on in Africa. The great thing about this country is that in our best moments, we say that our differences don't matter as much as our shared values."

The one note of justice in Mr Clinton's Alamo appeal was that Texas is one of the handful of states where he is still the underdog. He is outnumbered in a state which voted for George Bush four years ago, where he was 30 points behind the Republican candidate only six months ago, and where he is now running almost even with Mr Dole.

The Texas Democratic chairman, Bill White, said: "If we can turn out the Hispanic vote, we'll win. There were 2.5 million Hispanic voters four years ago, and 4 million this year thanks to the naturalisation programmes. Our polls show them 86 per cent for Clinton."

This is where the Alamo metaphor gets tricky. For Hispanics, the Alamo is the shrine to a lone victory in a string of defeats and dispossession. Mr Clinton's chances in Texas will depend on whether they are persuaded that the big gringo is offering them a place in his victory, and a share in its spoils.

Family life 'being blighted' by fathers' longer hours in the office. David Brindle reports

Mythical 'new man' hard at work

THE cult of the "new man" is today exposed as a myth by research showing that middle-class fathers say they are doing more at home, but are actually doing less.

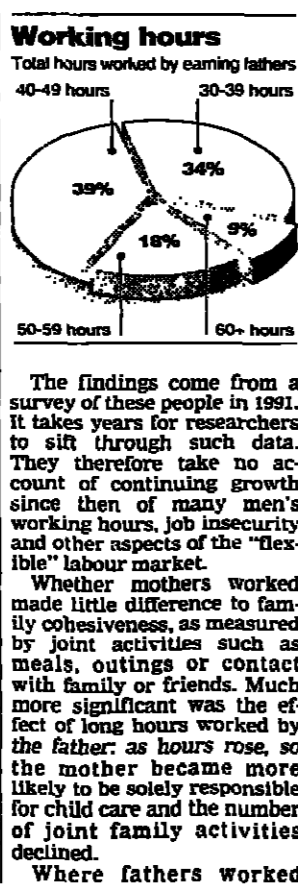
Fathers' increasingly long working hours — rather than the rise of the "work-life mother" — is the main cause of the blight on 1990s' family life, the study suggests.

More than one in four earning fathers is putting in more than 50 hours a week at work and almost one in 10 more than 60. Such men are markedly less likely to help with child care, or take part in family activities.

The findings come from a survey of these people in 1991. It takes years for researchers to sift through such data. They therefore take no account of continuing growth since then of many men's working hours, job insecurity and other aspects of the "flexible" labour market.

Whether mothers worked made little difference to family cohesiveness, as measured by joint activities such as meals, outings or contact with family or friends. Much more significant was the effect of long hours worked by the father: as hours rose, so the mother became more likely to be solely responsible for child care and the number of joint family activities declined.

Where fathers worked



fewer than 40 hours a week, more than two-thirds had a family meal at least daily. Where they worked 50 hours or more, fewer than half did so.

As well as long hours, unsocial hours were common among fathers: two thirds worked in the evening six in 10 at weekends and almost a third between 10pm and 4am. Ms Ferri said: "Greater job insecurity, more casual employment, and pressure to work long hours have been antipathetic to family life and this underlines the need for employment policies that help parents to cope."

The survey asked couples how happy they were with their relationship and found that "traditional" families, where the father alone worked, were the most contented. But the difference between them and dual-earner couples was "not very large".

The report, Parenting in the 1990s, speculates that, at the age of 33, middle-class fathers are concentrating on career development at the expense of family life. It notes, though, that shared parenting emerged as most common among couples both in full-time work, a group where qualifications and occupational class were highest.

"These apparently conflicting patterns would seem to

point to particular tensions for such parents in reconciling the responsibilities of employment and family life," says the report, published by the Family Policy Studies Centre.

Parenting in the 1990s; FPSC, 231 Baker Street, London NW1 6XE; £11 (inc p&p). Free summary from JRF, The Homestead, 40 Water End, York YO3 6LP.

Is the family alive and well? Page 8

Chemistry gives electric charge

Review

Andrew Clements

IT IS 16 years since Ricardo Chailly last conducted the London Symphony Orchestra. In that time the LSO has had three principal conductors, and Chailly's spiralling career has taken him to one of the most prestigious jobs, Chief Conductor of the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra in Amsterdam. They were reunited for a short tour of Spain and for two concerts in the Barbican last week.

They were both exceptional electric occasions, thanks to the chemistry between this fine, responsive orchestra and a conductor who knows exactly what he wants. Chailly seems to grow in stature with every performance. His remarkable musicianship is combined with a mind constantly on the lookout for ways of refreshing the orchestral repertoire.

That was amply demonstrated in the first of his two concerts, in which the main work was Mahler's 10th Symphony, in the performing version by Deryck Cooke. Most European conductors shun Cooke's punctiliously faithful version, preferring to play only the first movement, which was all Mahler completed and scored, but Chailly has been its long-standing champion. He has the massive work in his grasp, from the accumulating outpourings of the outer movements, with their aching chromaticisms, via the shorter-breathed rustic cuts of the central ones in

which Mahler seems to look back to his early symphonies with nostalgia.

It was all magnificently sustained, right through to the pleadings of the final bars; there wasn't a moment when the score's claim to a regular place in the Mahler canon could have been doubted. Chailly had dedicated the concert to the memory of the composer Bernhard Goldschmidt, who conducted the first performance of Cooke's score in 1964, and who died two weeks ago.

The Mahler had been preceded by a fiercely dramatic account of Britten's *Sinfonia da Requiem*, Chailly pointing up its Bergian echoes and brittle virtuosity, and the LSO meeting the challenges magnificently.

Last night's concert followed the same shape — a short first half of Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht* was followed by a monumental, late-romantic second, the first act of Wagner's *Die Walküre*. The Schoenberg was fascinating enough — a performance that looked forward to modernism rather than back to the 19th century, and founded on sinewy expressive lines rather than sumptuous weight of tone — but the Wagner was overwhelming.

It was conducted with high drama and passionate extremes, brilliant orchestral playing and performances from Wolfgang Schmidt and Gudjon Oskarsson as Siegmund and Hunding that were robust and highly effective, and a Sieglinde from Katarina Dalayman that was deeply affecting. When she sings the role in the theatre it should be well worth hearing, and when Chailly gets round to conducting the whole opera, and the whole Ring, attendance will be compulsory.

Dorrell goes to the wire to increase spending on the NHS

continued from page 1

Some Tories last night said success for Mr Dorrell could only be at the expense of the education budget, much of it delivered via the local government grant settlement announced by John Gummer's environment department. But others were adamant that this would prove as short-sighted as it did last year when town halls successfully blamed ministers for teacher shortages.

This year the annual spending round between the Treasury and the major departments has been quiet as well as late, pointing to tense battles between ministers who know that error could finally kill their election hopes. While Mr Clarke needs spending cuts to finance tax cuts he is more aware than most ministers that they will not succeed if key public services are badly cut this winter.

Leader comment, page 8

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Dress code amendment to spark up image and respect

MP aims to root out teacher 'scruffs'

'Armani is in small print on my spectacles, but the pupils notice it'

Robert Walker, Age: 36. Post: art teacher at Bradford Grammar School. Dress: green frock-style coat, matching waistcoat and trousers, Liberty floral tie, brown brogues, pocket watch and chain, Armani spectacles, gown (at assembly and when on "duty week").

"I HAVE strong opinions about what teachers should wear. Our clothes should be very formal and smart. All the staff at BGS are required to be smart and if we're not, you can be sure that we're told."

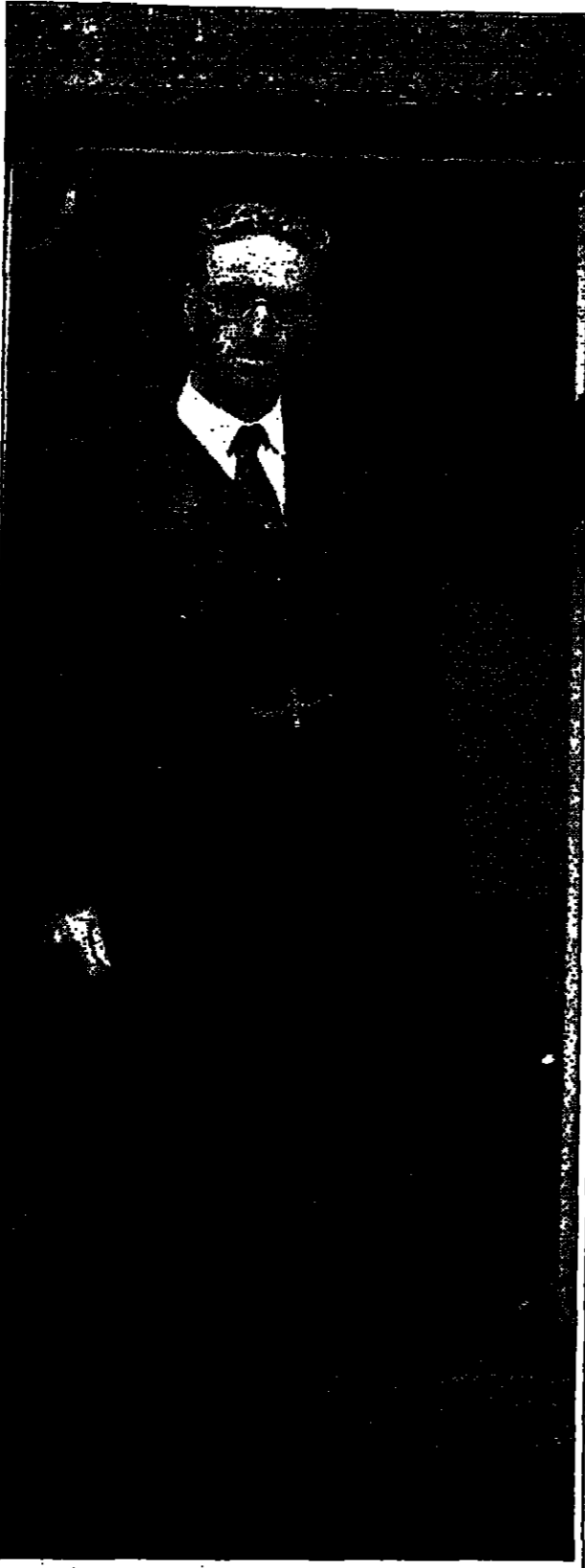
"I was talking about this subject only this morning to a neighbour in Beamsley village, who's seen a TV report with teachers in jeans coming out of the school where this lad's caused all the trouble. We were speculating about whether the two things might be connected."

"Before BGS, I taught for nine years in the state sector, dressing as I do now, and I am convinced that smartness involves a discipline which then extends into academic work. I don't feel happy without a shirt and tie and haven't since I was in my teens. But I hope that the particular way I dress also encourages the pupils to realise that your individuality can come across in the clothes you wear."

"It gives them something to look at and think about — and remember, lessons last 40 minutes and teenagers are very observant. The word "Armani" is only written in very small print on my spectacles, but the pupils notice and think he takes trouble about his appearance. Teachers don't have to have corduroy trousers, leather elbow-pads and Morris Minors."

"It may sound contradictory but I believe in uniform for the pupils, until they are old enough to handle more freedom. It is a shame when young people slavishly follow fashion under the impression that they are being daring or different. In fact they're victims of the sheep mentality."

Martin Walmsley



Robert Walker... smart, disciplined. PHOTOGRAPH: STEVE FORREST

'If teachers want to be treated like professionals, they should dress like professionals. Only that way will they get respect.'

David Shaw, Tory MP for Dover

John Carvel Education Editor

GILLIAN Shephard, the Education and Employment Secretary, tried yesterday to calm hysteria on the Conservative back benches about a moral breakdown in schools when she refused to back a demand for legislation to abolish scruffy teachers.

David Shaw, the Tory MP for Dover, said he would table an amendment to the Education Bill requiring governors of the 26,000 state schools to lay down a dress code for their staff to ban "unprofessional" items such as jeans and earrings.

Amid continuing concern about the closure of schools in Halifax and Worsley last week because of indiscipline, the proposal was understood to have the support of a group of former ministers including John Redwood, who last year challenged John Major for the party leadership.

Mr Shaw said his amendment would banish the image of the sloppily-dressed teacher. "If teachers want to be treated like professionals — as they always say they do — then they should dress like professionals. Only that way will they get the respect of the children, of parents and of the public."

However, Mrs Shephard — who wears earrings but not jeans in the Commons — said the Government would not support the amendment because "the issues were best dealt with locally rather than at the national level."

"Teachers are important role models in the way they dress and behave. Head teachers and governors are best placed to ensure that these matters are addressed appropriately at local level," she said.

"National prescription should not be necessary. Head teachers in particular should already ensure that their staff command respect. That is one of the reasons I have placed so much emphasis on the

vital role of the head teacher and why we are improving their training."

David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, supported the idea of dress codes for staff and pupils, but did not believe legislation was necessary.

"This is a matter for the head in leading and managing the school. Frankly it would be daft to engage in legislation in Parliament," he said on BBC television's Breakfast with Frost programme.

Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers, said legislation would be totalitarian and cause chaos.

"Frankly, it would be insulting and patronising to the majority of teachers who are well turned out." He criticised politicians for diverting the debate about school discipline into trivialities.

Doug McAvoy, general secretary of the National Union of Teachers, said teachers dressed according to the type of lesson. "A suit and tie would not be appropriate for working with greasy machinery, nor would a twinsted and pearls on the hockey field."

The real issue was about children who should be removed from mainstream to special schools where they could receive the education they needed. "It is the closure of these schools which needs to be challenged, and the integration into mainstream schools of children with serious behavioural problems, not the dress sense of teachers," Mr de Gruchy said.

John Sutton, general secretary of the Secondary Heads Association, said most teachers dressed smartly and set a good example to their pupils. "Governing bodies as employers have the right to set standards of dress and appearance for teachers as do all employers. There is therefore no need for a new law."

"Those making this suggestion clearly have a folk memory of the mid-1980s when a minority of teachers leading protests created a poor image for the profession."



Carol Leonard... modest, practical. PHOTOGRAPH: KIPPA MATTHEWS

'Putting us all in suits is not going to solve problem of discipline'

Carol Leonard, Age: 42. Post: deputy head teacher, Edmund Waller primary school, south London. Dress: V-neck mohair jumper, black T-shirt, black knee-length skirt, buckled shoes, silver hoop earrings.

"THERE is a baseline: you must wear something modest. It's also got to be practical. I teach at primary school, where teachers spend a lot of time crawling around on the floor painting huge pictures, so it's got to be decent. A nice suit is not going to be appropriate. We all teach PE at primary school. You can't wear a tight skirt if you're going to be running around in the playground. You need a tracksuit, or leggings, and trainers."

"I wear a baggy jumper and leggings, or a big jumper and skirt. You can't wear high heels: schools have lots of stairs and different levels and you have to do playground duty."

"Children are affected by the quality of your teaching. They are very switched on about that, much more than about what you are wearing. But I can see that parents' confidence in you can be increased by what you are wearing. If I were going to a governors' meeting to talk, I'd wear something that would make me feel confident."

"Children need a distance between them and the teacher: we are educators. We're not their aunts or their big brothers. If I thought a code of dress would help create and maintain that distance, I would be willing to consider it."

"If teachers need make-up to feel confident — because a lot of teaching is about acting, about presenting yourself — then I'm not going to object to it. If it's make-up more appropriate to going to a rave, we have to ask what signals we're sending."

"Putting us all in suits is not going to solve discipline problems, but dress might be one of the things to consider."

Clare Longrigg

'The pupils love somebody who's a bit stylish'

Claire Thom (left). Age: early 40s. Post: principal teacher of guidance (personal and social education) and teacher of science/biology at Newbattle High School, Midlothian. Dress: flat shoes, ankle-length cotton skirt, cotton top with gold brooch, pendant silver earrings.

"THIS is what I had on last Monday. I prefer flat shoes because they're easier to walk in, and anyway high heels are a bit passé. Long skirts suit me. I have nothing against short hem-

lines which can be OK on the right person. Similarly, I have a colleague who looks great in trousers, though they are definitely not me. I would never wear a low-cut top because if you are bending over boys doing their marking they'd be trying to look down your cleavage."

"I'm fond of jewellery. My pupils like this brooch and another pair of earrings which I have in the shape of little birds. Pupils generally take a great interest in what their teachers wear. They love somebody who's a bit different and stylish but they are

also very straitlaced and can quickly identify anyone wearing clothes which aren't appropriate. It's also lovely for the other teachers to have personalities in the staff room, as this is the sort of job that really grinds you down."

"I broadly agree with the notion that dressing smartly can help a teacher. As you are a figure that has to be respected it is important that you don't wear anything that could cause you to be ridiculed. However, I don't think you gain or lose authority solely by your appearance."

Brend Clouston

MP's death cuts Tory majority

Michael White Political Editor

THE Government's Commons majority was reduced to one yesterday after the combative MP, Barry Porter, lost a two-month battle against cancer and died aged 57.

As John Major led tributes to a backbench colleague who for 18 years had been cheerfully outspoken on sensitive issues like Northern Ireland and Margaret Thatcher's retirement plans, party managers admitted privately they are all but certain to lose the resulting by-election.

It will be delayed, probably to February, weeks before a likely general election, but cannot be put off any later. Mr Porter, the MP for Wirral South, had a majority of 8,188 in 1992.

Though Mr Porter proved a Heseltine supporter in 1990, Mr Major said yesterday: "Barry's generous heart and good humour will be much missed at Westminster and in the Wirral. He served both his constituents and country well. The speed of his illness has been a shock... Our thoughts are with his family."

towards the kind of no confidence vote Mrs Thatcher won by one vote — in 1979.

When Barnsley's new member arrives, Mr Major's overall majority, which was 28 in 1992, will be 27. It has been whittled away by deaths, resignations and three defections. But in practice the Government has a majority of nearly 50 over Labour and knows the Ulster Unionists are unlikely to ally with Mr Blair on most issues.

Mr Porter, a waspish Merseysider who became a solicitor and had five children, was a controversial rightwing Tory MP with outspoken pro-Unionist views on Northern Ireland, unafraid to attack what he saw as terrorist cowards or the bias of Tory ministers towards Dublin. He once received a letter bomb.

He could be openly critical of Margaret Thatcher. He took the public view towards the end of her premiership that she had been in power for too long and — in May 1990 — said she should resign "for her own good" while she still had a great reputation.

On TV, Mr Porter said: "I would like to say to the Prime Minister, 'Thank you, goodbye, enjoy yourself.' This, coupled with his undoubted support for Michael Heseltine as a replacement by loyalists as — then foisted by loyalists as a replacement — for the leader, almost cost Mr Porter his seat. Efforts were made to deselect him, which Mr Major helped prevent."

Colin Murray, page 10

Olympus snaps up cut-price duchess

Clare Longrigg

THE Duchess of York has stepped into supermodel Naomi Campbell's shoes as a cut-price stand-in for an advertisement for Olympus cameras.

The unlikely substitution reportedly came after negotiations between Olympus and Ms Campbell broke down. The Duchess is said to have received £20,000 for the poster campaign, which shows her in what looks like her dressing gown, snapping the Statue of Liberty from a yacht.

"We would have had to pay Naomi Campbell a lot more than £20,000," said Gunther Vetter, of Olympus's Austrian division. "The duchess originally wanted more too."

The advertisement is accompanied by a jokey catchline — of which the duchess was previously unaware — referring to her

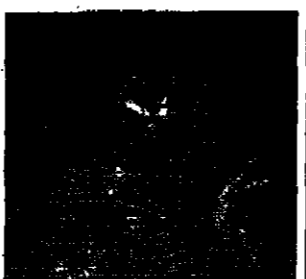
alleged liaison with tennis player Thomas Muster.

In a straight campaign starring Ms Campbell, the Duchess may not have been the obvious next best choice — she has been slated over her dress sense and mocked for being overweight. Nonetheless, this is a coup for Olympus, which has made the first advertisement featuring a British royal, and secured the duchess's services relatively cheaply.

Top models tend to make most of their money from advertising, at rates reaching tens of thousands of pounds. Supermodel Christy Turlington once said: "We completely reinvigorated the whole money thing — we make a ridiculous amount."

Ms Turlington recently signed up to advertise Maybelline products for £3.3 million, in a deal involving two weeks' work a year over four years — a rate of around £60,000 a day.

Another supermodel, Linda Evangelista, claimed she "wouldn't get out of bed" for less than £10,000. Sporting stars also net huge profits from advertising. Paul Gascoigne signed a £1.5 million deal to wear Adidas boots for five years. Magazines carrying the Olympus advertisement will appear in mainland Europe but not in Britain in a deal designed to save the embarrassment of the duchess's former in-laws.



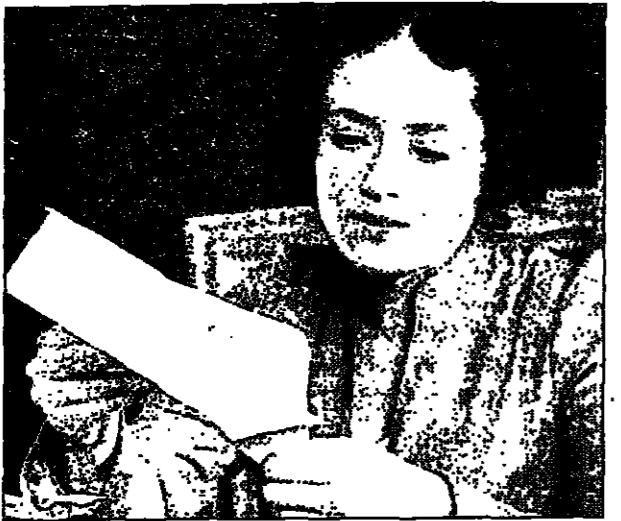
The duchess as she appears in the Olympus advert

Advertisement for American Express Charge Card. Text: 'Besides the American Express Card, what else gets replaced? Plenty. When you carry the American Express Charge Card, you take with you the knowledge that you have coverage for some very important things. Such as compensation for lost or delayed baggage. Coverage for the cost of food and accommodation incurred for scheduled flights that get delayed for four hours or more. 1,700 Travel Service locations worldwide ready to help you with advice and arrangements. Our Global Assist service, which can refer you to an English-speaking doctor or lawyer virtually anywhere in the world, twenty-four hours a day. All these, and many more, designed to replace concern with confidence. To find out how we can help you do more, call now: 0800 700 767. Cards' Includes American Express logo and a small image of the card.

Winners



Men Behaving Badly, above, Pride and Prejudice, left, and Desmond Lynam



Viewers spurn TV's golden age in poll of small screen classics as the BBC fetes its 60th birthday

Andrew Culf on a night of surprises

VIEWERS last night subbed the golden age of television and voted for modern day favourites in a national poll to mark the BBC's 60th anniversary.

Names from television history, such as Richard Dimbleby, lost out to Desmond Lynam in the favourite presenter category.

Viewers chose last year's adaptation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* in preference to classic serials including *The Forsyte*

Saga, *I Claudius* and *Pennies From Heaven*. The favourite actor award was picked up by Colin Firth, who played Mr Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice*, beating off competition from Alan Bates and Sir Alec Guinness.

Losers



Steptoe and Son, above, Pennies From Heaven, left, and Richard Dimbleby



- Favourite situation comedy performer**
- Winner: David Jason
 - Losers: John Cleese, Tony Hancock, Arthur Lowe, Eric Sykes
- Favourite comedy performer**
- Winner: Victoria Wood
 - Losers: John Cleese, Peter Cook and Dudley Moore, Spike Milligan
- Favourite light entertainment series**
- Winner: Morecambe and Wise
 - Losers: Dave Allen at Large, Mike Yarwood in Persons
- Favourite actor**
- Winner: Colin Firth
 - Losers: Alan Bates, Alec Guinness, Robert Hardy, Derek Jacobi
- Favourite drama serial**
- Winner: *Pride and Prejudice*
 - Losers: *Edge of Darkness*, *I Claudius*, *Pennies from Heaven*, *The Forsyte Saga*, *Six Wives of Henry VIII*
- Favourite comedy series**
- Winner: Victoria Wood As Seen on TV
 - Losers: *Monty Python*, *Not The Nine O'Clock News*, *That Was The Week That Was*
- Favourite actress**
- Winner: Patricia Routledge
 - Losers: Judi Dench, Thora Birch, Glenda Jackson, Juliet Stevenson
- Favourite situation comedy**
- Winner: *Men Behaving Badly*
 - Losers: *Dad's Army*, *Fawlty Towers*, *Only Fools and Horses*, *Steptoe and Son*, *Till Death Us Do Part*, *Whitaker* happened to the *Lucky Lady*, *Yes Minister*
- Favourite presenter**
- Winner: Desmond Lynam
 - Losers: David Attenborough, Robin Day, Richard Dimbleby
- Favourite popular drama:**
- Winner: *Doc Martin*
 - Losers: *Casualty*, *Goldfinger*, *EastEnders*, *The Onedin Line*, *When the Boat Comes In*, *Z Cars*
- Favourite light entertainment performer**
- Winner: Morecambe and Wise
 - Losers: Dave Allen, *The Two Ronnies*, *Les Dawson*

Deaths bring calls for new firework safety rules

Stuart Miller

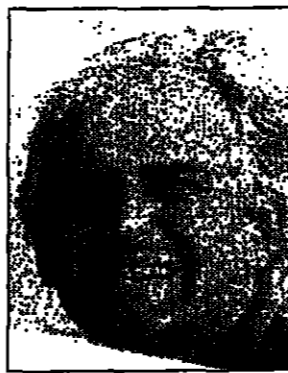
DEMANDS for a tightening of firework safety rules intensified yesterday after a second man was killed when one exploded in his face.

The City trader from Wilmington, Kent, who has not been named, was fatally injured as he lit a Grand Celebration firework at a private bonfire party on Saturday evening at which his two young children were present.

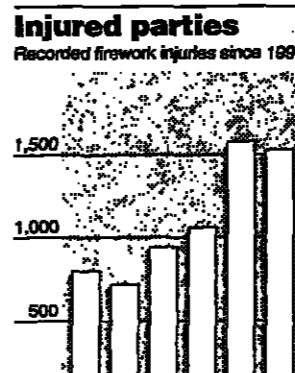
They are now being cared for by relatives while police attempt to trace their mother, who is visiting New York. Experts said the grenade-shaped Chinese firework was extremely dangerous and not

on general sale. The size of a man's fist, it was meant to be fired from a mortar tube, but the only instructions were in Chinese.

The incident came less than 24 hours after the death of David Hattersley, aged 45, headmaster of Hazlemere primary school in High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire. The father-of-six stumbled forward as he was supervising the school's annual display on Friday, and took the full impact of an 8lb mortar-style firework in his face. A retired vicar and chemistry teacher who supplied some of the fireworks will be questioned today by Health and Safety Executive investigators.



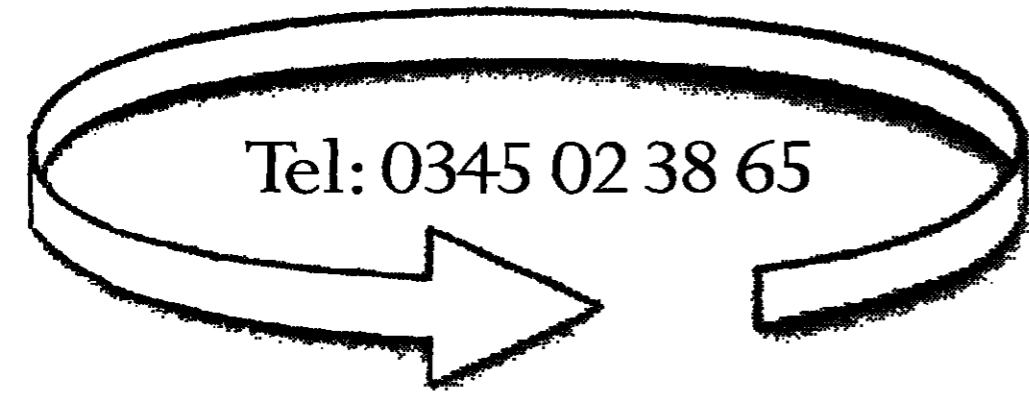
Killed... Primary school head David Hattersley



partment of Trade and Industry said the Government had recently started a review of firework regulations. A consultation document has been issued examining issues of licensing and banning some fireworks, and proposals are expected to be drawn up within months.

Meanwhile, more than 350 people joined Mr Hattersley's widow, Ruth, and their six children for an emotional service yesterday at the Holy Trinity Church, which adjoins his school. After the service, Mrs Hattersley said her husband would be "remembered with a great deal of love and admiration and a profound sense of loss".

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'Pro-lifers' may contest seats

Michael White Political Editor

FRESH element of uncertainty was injected into the coming general election campaign when it emerged that pro-life campaigners are threatening to run "Family Life Campaign" candidates against leading MPs whom they regard as "pro-abortion".

With the Referendum Party already planning similar tactics against MPs who have failed to meet leader Sir James Goldsmith's exacting anti-federalist standards, the main parties may face the

kind of danger long faced by targets of single-issue campaigning in the United States.

A second such campaign is unlikely to garner many votes, let alone seats, as past interventions — usually in by-elections — underline. But it could affect the outcome in highly marginal seats.

There has also been talk that both sides in the gun debate might seek to unseat prominent opponents — one reason why Michael Forsyth, the Scottish Secretary, who is Dunblane's MP, pushed the Cabinet into a gun ban stronger than that proposed by Lord Cullen but still offended militants on both sides.

The Labour frontbencher Jeff Rooker wrote to John Major warning him that a general election held on May 1 would triple the number of spoiled ballot papers, as it did in 1979 when the election was last held on the same day as local elections.

Family Life campaigners, who plan to launch their "party" in London next week, yesterday indicated that Tony Blair — who recently clashed with Cardinal Thomas Winning on the abortion issue — would be on their hit-list, despite his statement that he disapproves of abortion.

So would "militant pro-abortionist" women such as

Virginia Bottomley, Mo Mowlam, Edwina Currie, Teresa Cosman and Dawn Primarolo, who will all be offended by such a description. Like most MPs they regard themselves as "pro-choice".

Jack Scarisbrick, chairman of the Life campaign, last night said no decision had been taken on whether to go ahead with the plan to contest the seats — but the threat was clear.

"We would not expect to win seats, but this is a way of showing the flag," he said. "However, deposits would be lost and we have to consider whether this is the right way of using our money."

Former Tory treasurer backs state aid for political parties

Michael White

SENIOR Tories last night shrugged off the declaration by their former party treasurer, Lord Beaverbrook, that state funding of political parties should replace the present system of large and often anonymous donations, some of them from foreign or allegedly corrupt sources.

In a remark likely to be quoted against John Major's persistent rejection of the need for reform of party finances, Lord Beaverbrook, who raised millions for Mr Major's cause in 1990-92, said there was a "strong case" for state funding, as European experience had shown.

"I think that at the end of the day democracy is what really counts and that must be preserved at all costs," he told BBC's *On The Record*. "You've got to remove the possibility of corruption."

Although some MPs on both sides favour that solu-

tion, others think that voters would be very ill-disposed towards giving taxpayers' money to parties they currently so despise. Nor is it a straight left-right issue, as some Labour leftwingers see it as a "hidden agenda" item to sever Labour's union ties.

Tory MPs and officials were quick to claim that the grandson of the newspaper tycoon had not been involved in the

party's politics for very long and subsequently went bankrupt with more than \$5 million of debts. "It's an easy soundbite for him to make," said one.

But his testimony cannot wholly be discounted. "I think there's never smoke without fire so probably in the past there have been problems and I don't think that those problems want to repeat

themselves," Lord Beaverbrook told the programme — an implicit admission that donations such as that from fugitive tycoon Asif Nadir in the 80s backfired.

Labour's campaign spokesman Brian Wilson seized on Lord Beaverbrook's remarks, saying the Tories must recognise "the game is up as far as anonymous donations from dodgy sources is concerned".

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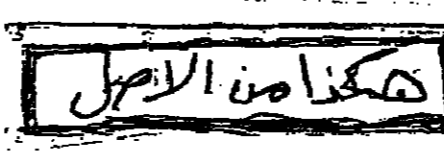
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Lottery funds bring £21m tower of art to Walsall

David Ward

WALSALL, famous for writer Jerome K. Jerome, wheelbarrows and saddles patronised by many a royal bottom, is about to acquire a 100ft tower worthy of an Italian Renaissance potentate.

The tower of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence may be a couple of hundred feet taller, but it overlooks only the empty spaces of the Piazza della Signoria. Walsall's tower, snuggled between Woolworth's and British Home Stores, will offer views over the canal and the M5 to Bilston and beyond.

It will house an art gallery; not some token municipal nod towards the visual arts but a £21 million beacon of excellence which will show what small-town Britain can do when it puts in the right kind of lottery application. The gallery has just won £15.75 million of lucky num-



An Epstein bust among items of the Garman Ryan collection waiting in storage for the new gallery
PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCPHEE

ber money and opens in summer 1998.

Cultural pilgrims will be welcome, but the tower will belong to the 240,000 residents of the West Midlands town, 85 per cent of whom pledged their support in a consultation exercise. When a local

TV crew in search of controversy accosted local citizens, an ageing gent in traditional Midlands cap replied: "This art gallery? It's bloody great."

The interior of the tower, with an irregular arrangement of rooms and floor levels, is planned as a big

house, with many windows and much natural light. The domestic feel might surprise Lorenzo de Medici but it takes its cue in part from the Garman Ryan collection: 360 paintings, drawings and sculptures donated to Walsall in 1973 by Kathleen Garman,

who was born nearby and became the second wife of sculptor Sir Jacob Epstein.

The collection features works by Corot, Manet, Picasso, Rembrandt, Dürer and dozens of other big names. But its character is intimate

and personal, and the Epstein items, more than 40 of them, include drawings and busts of his children and a bronze of Frisky, his sheepdog.

The painter Sir Edwin Landseer (he of The Monarch of the Glen) is represented by a delicate study of wayside

plants. The items are meant to be arranged thematically (flowers, people, animals) rather than chronologically or art-historically.

Three quarters of the collection is now a one-room gallery above the town's library. The rest is stored in the town

hall, waiting for the tower's completion.

"The collection is interwoven with relationships and that makes it special," said Peter Jenkinson, head of Walsall Museums and Galleries. "Our priority is about engaging the people of Walsall. We are dealing with many agendas here: civic, political, cultural, educational."

The museums wanted to improve access to the arts and to engage people in many ways, not just as spectators.

"We want to make the gallery more alive and open to wider audiences. We emphasise interactivity, which means jigsaw puzzles as well as computer programs.

"With the new building we have unapologetically gone for something of world-class standard in design and the facilities it can offer."

Mr Jenkinson says the tower, the work of architects Peter St John and Adam Caruso, will help the gallery to continue its pioneering work with children. "We hang our pictures about 10in lower than usual because a quarter of our visitors are under 11."

The tower, which has cross-party support on the local council, will cost Walsall nothing but the value of the site. Some of the costs will be met from the profits of a pub to be built near the gallery. Lorenzo would approve of that.

School authorities seek review of media conduct

Close coverage of pupils 'may have led to breakdown of order'

John Carvel
Education Editor

LOCAL education authority leaders will this week seek an urgent meeting with the Press Complaints Commission after allegations that the recent intense media coverage of disciplinary problems at schools had encouraged bad behaviour and may have put children at risk.

The Association of Metropolitan Authorities was told at its annual education conference in Salford over the weekend that journalists had paid children up to £150 to perform for the cameras at the Ridings school in Halifax, exacerbating disorder which led to its closure.

Mike Higgins, chairman of Calderdale education authority, said photographers used a crane outside the school as a vantage point to train their zoom cameras inside the classrooms, contributing to a breakdown of discipline. Councillors complained that the media named pupils who were excluded from school for misbehaviour, but were legally obliged to protect their anonymity if they committed offences serious enough for juvenile court appearances.

The 10-year-old whose alleged misconduct was blamed for the closure of Manton Junior School near Worksop, Nottinghamshire, was named and pictured in spite of being found innocent by an exclusion appeals panel.

The conference passed an

emergency resolution asking the Press Complaints Commission to develop a professional code of conduct for journalists to:

- protect the privacy of individual children;
- prevent offensive and intrusive press behaviour in relation to schools;
- promote responsible behaviour in reporting of issues concerning children.

Councillors were concerned that children could endanger themselves by making comments to journalists — for example criticising bullies who might exact retribution — without being mature enough to realise the consequences.

Graham Lane, the association's chairman of education, asked Gillian Shephard, the Education and Employment Secretary, to approve a decision by Calderdale education authority to take over management of the Ridings school and withdraw the delegated

powers given to its governors.

Mrs Shephard is studying a report on the Ridings after an emergency inspection last week found serious problems of disorder. The Government is expected to announce its decision on Wednesday.

Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers, last night called on Mrs Shephard to intervene to secure the reopening of Manton school where his members are striking over the behaviour of a 10-year-old.

She should instruct Nottinghamshire education authority to offer the boy a place at another school. If his mother refused it, the authority should challenge her right of choice in court, he said.

The school closed on Thursday after governors withdrew funding for the boy's personal tuition, which would have cost £14,000 in a full year.

Bottomley wins gobbledygook prize

Sue Quinn

Tough talk

VIRGINIA Bottomley, in the exercise of her function as Minister of the Crown responsible for National Heritage, has attained a premier citation for her unsurpassed impartation of convoluted and impenetrable textual matter.

In other words, she has won this year's top gobbledygook prize for incomprehensible English.

The Plain English Commission, which campaigns for simplicity and clarity in the written and spoken word, has awarded Mrs Bottomley the Golden Rhubarb Trophy for the most "grotesque and baffling" official document of the year.

The commission yesterday

declared that on the determination of the said term expiring on the thirty-first day of December two thousand and six the undertaking of the Corporation shall cease, so far as the same may depend upon or be carried out under or by virtue of the powers and provisions herein given and contained . . .

— BBC's new royal charter

and broadcasting agreement. Runners-up

- "... the effluxion of obnoxious fumes has killed at least one tree."
- Stephen Brooker, bursar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in a letter complaining about a hot-dog stall.
- "I hope they play well and achieve a satisfactory result."
- John Major, hoping for an English victory in Euro 96.

just as heretofore provided, the aggregate of moneys, formation of the objectives, the power heretofore contained, deemed to vitiate any proceedings and anywise notwithstanding."

"She should be made to sing it at the next party conference," said commission director Martin Curtis.

The Silver Rhubarb Trophy was awarded to Sir Richard Scott, the judge who delivered this year's 1,800-word report on the arms-to-Iraq inquiry.

"Sir Richard has buried his findings beneath a mountain of verbiage and ambiguity," Mr Curtis said.

"This document cost taxpayers \$5 million to prepare. Yet it lacks a summary of its main conclusions, forcing people to read everything to find out nothing."

MP sees head of steam for caning vote after poll backing

CONSERVATIVE backbenchers campaigning for a free Commons vote on the restoration of corporal punishment in schools were encouraged yesterday by four opinion polls suggesting they had the support of a two-to-one majority among the public, writes John Carvel.

James Pawsey, chairman of

the Tory backbench education committee, said the head of steam building up behind the campaign would force the Prime Minister to reconsider his opposition to caning.

Last week Gillian Shephard, the Education and Employment Secretary, said corporal punishment could be a useful deterrent and Michael

Howard, the Home Secretary, said it could be useful in extremes to instil discipline into children.

Mr Pawsey is one of several Conservative backbenchers planning amendments to the Education Bill to allow schools to include corporal punishment in home-school contracts.

Polls by Mori for the Mail on Sunday, NOP for the Express on Sunday and Gallup for the Sunday Telegraph showed about two in three people supporting a return to caning.

A telephone poll of 506 parents carried out by the People showed 67 per cent in favour.

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If one single thing is striking about Manning, it is not how bad racial abuse (not to forget misogyny and anti-gay sentiment) was then, but how much more tolerant our language is now.

G2 front

News in brief

Pentagon studies missile incident

THE Pentagon was investigating yesterday why a United States air force F-16 fired at an Iraqi anti-aircraft missile battery in southern Iraq on Saturday. The F-16 pilot, thinking his plane had been targeted by Iraqi radar, launched a single missile at the mobile surface-to-air missile battery before returning safely to his base in Saudi Arabia.

Rebels join Cambodia army

CEREMONIES are being planned for Wednesday to formally induct troops loyal to the former Pol Pot associate Ieng Sary into the Cambodian army. But the deal struck over the weekend appears to be causing deepening rifts in the government.

Test fuels quake fear

AN IRISH-LED scientific research project which involves detonating 20 tonnes of TNT on the seabed of northern Portugal has spread panic in a country haunted by the memory of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, in which 40,000 people died.



Romanian soldiers line up for their ballot papers at a military barracks in Bucharest yesterday as they vote in presidential and parliamentary elections

Old order resists pressure

Julian Borger in Belgrade

YUGOSLAVIA, Romania and Bulgaria went to the polls yesterday to pass judgment on regimes run by some of Europe's most tenacious former communists, but the prospect of fundamental reform in this impoverished and volatile corner looked far from certain.

was favoured to win the presidency, but the post has no real power. For the next few months at least the parliament and government are likely to remain in the hands of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), one of the most conservative bodies of former communists in the region.

Ex-communists have made a virtue of their longevity in power

former communists have made a virtue of their longevity in power, portraying themselves as guardians of stability. President Milosevic's SPSS has emphasised his role in last year's Bosnian peace accord, which ended four years of armed conflict in the Balkans.

losevic to switch from the Serbian leadership to the federal presidency of rump Yugoslavia, which comprises Serbia and Montenegro.

The burning question in Belgrade yesterday was not whether the SPSS would win, but whether it would get the two-thirds majority in the federal parliament needed to convert the constitutionally weak federal presidency into a position of real power.

In Bulgaria, projections last night showed Mr Stoyanov leading the presidential runoff with 51 per cent against 37 per cent for the socialist candidate, Ivan Marazov.

Opinion polls suggested that Mr Constantinescu had the greater chance of making the run-off, but would then face an uphill struggle against the ruling PSDR.

In the rough and tumble of the Balkan hustings, nothing is too personal for the scorned wife of a political leader

FORGET the debate about national identity and the economy: the most bitter duel in Yugoslavia's election campaign was fought on the issues of marital stability, fertility and personal hygiene, by the Balkans' two most outspoken political wives, writes Julian Borger.



Dana: 'Habits of a bandit'



Mira: 'Bastard fruit of orgy'

Dana: "An under-achieving woman with the habits of a half-wild cattle rustler and bandit waiting to ambush travellers and rob them of their luggage and children."

Mira's reference to children in her attack on Dana also had a cutting edge. The Draskovic marriage has been childless, a fact which Mira attributed to infertility.

Tax splits Bonn coalition

Ian Traynor in Bonn

A NEW round of sparring over spending cuts, tax increases and the effort to qualify next year for the single European currency erupted in the German cabinet at the weekend.

More infighting is likely between the coalition partners - Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats, Mr Waigel's Bavarian Christian Social Union, and the FDP - as Mr Waigel tries to produce a budget that will cut the deficit by less than 3 per cent of

Arms accord breaks down

David Hearst in Moscow

NEGOTIATIONS for an anti-ballistic missile accord between Russia and the United States were supposed to sign on Thursday but broke down as the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, called a milestone in relations between the two countries, denials the disagreement over arms control and the expansion of Nato eastwards.

Embassies warn of unrest

Ian Traynor in Bonn

THE US and German embassies in Moscow have issued warnings to Americans and Germans in Russia of social and possible military unrest in the days after the planned surgery on President Boris Yeltsin.

councils" have been formed in the garrison towns of Novgorod, Voronezh, Rязань and Tula and in Moscow, a Russian analyst told the Welt am Sonntag newspaper.

Have YOU ever written a poem?

Chances are you have already written a few lines of verse - perhaps at school, or to a friend, or just for fun. Now a new comprehensive guide shows you how to develop your natural gift for poetry. It covers everything you need to know to write poetry - from the basics of English, a good imagination and a little creativity can write poetry - all poetry consists of words and sentences that convey more than usual.

GDP next year and thus qualify Germany for the single currency.

The government recently reneged on a promise to cut the surcharge next year - a humiliation for Mr Waigel.

The three issues are linked. The Russian defence establishment is worried about the US decision to develop, but not yet deploy, a new generation of multi-site anti-ballistic defence missiles, which Moscow views as a new spiral in the arms race.

being considered a defence against tactical missiles and the interceptor which could shoot down a strategic missile.

insisting on delaying Start 2 for another five years.

Whales rescue ensnared calf

TWO whales charged at a shark net and ripped it apart to rescue their calf who was entangled in it, a surfer on South Africa's east coast said.

US credit rating slips

THE failure of the United States to pay the \$1.5 billion (€1 billion) it owes the United Nations has seriously hampered the Clinton administration's efforts to make international peacekeeping operations better able to defuse regional conflicts such as those in Bosnia and parts of Africa, a draft state department study says.

Advertisement for G2 page 4: We need the next generation. So why not tax allowances on children, flexi-time, career breaks, job shares and extended parental leave? The Czech Republic manages three years' paid leave; Sweden, a year. Yvonne Roberts on today's marketplace for women

Donsin Diary
John Vidal

THE LAND is full and we have been bringing in the harvest. Every family has been busy since dawn cutting, collecting and storing the sorghum, maize and millet. Now 50 people sit below a neem tree pondering the fact that Donsin, like hundreds of other sub-Saharan villages in northern Burkina Faso, will not have enough food for next year.

Sawadogo Nikiema (his name means Clouds in the Mord languages) is the chief of fetishes, the head sacrificer and medicine man. Hoe on shoulder, he squats beside Hima Noga, the village chief. Clouds is angry. Some of the young men have been discussing how the climate has changed. Last year's rains were late, the harvest is thin, and the long dry seasons, it's agreed, are getting longer. Even though the development group Plan International has put in water, helped train the villagers to restore eroded land and build a school, even though Donsin has a rare health clinic, young people are leaving to work in the Ivory Coast. Clouds rises, bangs his crook, the neem tree and hums. He has feathers on his arm, bells on his bag and his amulets and beads jangle. He gesticulates: if the village had followed his directions they would have had better rains. They do not respect the old ways. They should have sacrificed animals to their ancestors. If everyone had brought him a goat, none of this - he waves at the dry, eroded land - would have happened. The boys laugh, but they are not rude or dismissive. In a society where people swap religions with ease, many from Donsin have changed to Islam and Christianity. But a quarter of the 1,000 villagers are animists, and evensome respects that traditional plant-based medicines can reach parts that scarce and pricey western drugs do not. But animism is in decline in Burkina Faso: "You demand sacrifices all the time, you want too much," says one of the young to Clouds. And then, like a spark to kindling, he says that animism will finish in Donsin when Clouds dies.

The chief of the fetishes grips his fingers, hums high and glares at the youth. "We used to kill red birds and goats. We protect people by sacrifices," he says. People come to see him to have a woman, effect change, sort out a problem, get better. Businessmen visit him. He is well known in Burkina.

The argument consumes the group like the hot harmonium wind that it is starting to blow. The chief starts to blow off the Sahab in 10 minutes it has passed. I ask whether Clouds can fix my shoulder, which has long had a pain deep inside. "Come and see me. Make a sacrifice," he says. "What sacrifice?" "A chicken."

HE TAKES his crook, stomps off and joins two children playing under another tree. Two vultures, like his familiars, land on its highest branches. Ima Silwaga, the son of the chief, gets on a bike and returns 20 minutes later with a live chicken which is passed round for approval. Our small party heads, with chicken, to Clouds's compound where the sorghum grows higher and fuller than anywhere. He is waiting inside his "surgery", a round thatched hut that has been used for generations of sacrifices.

It's just possible to see bags of leaves and powders. Large, smooth stones are heaped high, most are covered in feathers and dried blood and one is shaped like a mushroom. Clouds tells me to sit in the grass floor-way while he takes his knife and salts the throat of the chicken four times. He drips the blood on to the stones and calls on his ancestors for 15 minutes.

He mixes water with the blood, pouring it over the stones. Still chanting, he takes four leather pouches full of powders and then, coming outside the surgery, he puts the bowl in the centre of a stone circle, rolls up my sleeve and rubs the powder into my arm, bathing it with water. His big old hands are leathery, soothing, cool. Will my shoulder get better?

"Yes."

And will the harvest be better next year?
Clouds smirks: "Sacrifice goats," he says.

NEED THE THINGS TO BE ABLE TO EARN MONEY FROM THE RICE.

How to defuse the pensions bomb

Commentary
Dick Taverne

THE House of Commons Select Committee on social security has suddenly discovered a nightmare: the pension problems of our EU partners. These, it suggests, are so serious that they present compelling reasons why we should not join a monetary union (EMU). If we do, it is argued, we will be responsible for the future pension obligations of Germany, France and Italy, and we will have to pay for their profligacy through higher taxes, higher interest rates or higher inflation. If the argument were valid, it would turn every pensioner and taxpayer into a dedicated opponent of a single currency.

In fact it is based on a myth. There is no doubt, as has long been known, that most EU members face a pension timebomb. The combination of falling birth rates, longer life expectancy and paying for pensions under a Pay-As-You-Go system (PAYG) is a dangerous mix.

An ever-smaller workforce has to pay for an ever larger, more expensive, population of pensioners. As we in Britain rely much more on funded pensions and less on PAYG, our future obligations are smaller and our financial state healthier - although before we boast too loudly we should remember that we have paid a heavy price for this financial advantage. There is a degree of poverty among the old in Britain which would be regarded as intolerable in Germany, Italy or France.

However, the Committee's nightmare scenario is based on a number of fallacies. First, there will be no obligation whatever on Britain to pay for other people's debts. If an EMU member has liabilities that cause it to exceed the limits on deficit and debt laid down in the Maastricht Treaty, it must either cut back on spending, raise taxes or both. This is a national responsibility. Article 104b of the Treaty explicitly rules out any bail-out by other states.

Indeed, so concerned are Germany and France with ensuring that individual states do not exceed the fiscal limits that they have proposed severe penalties on those who do. The whole purpose of the proposed "stability pact" is to ensure fiscal discipline. Even without the pact, every member has an interest in making

EMU work. If this means that some states have to raise taxes to pay for their pensions, we do not have to follow suit. There are no plans to harmonise taxes: if our taxes are lower, we gain an edge.

Further, to argue that our inflation or interest rates will be lower outside EMU (they are at present 1.5 to 2 per cent higher than those in the D-Mark bloc) flies in the face of all past experience. Joining such a core group would very probably mean lower interest rates and lower inflation.

Next, while future pension obligations will clearly add to the pressures on public finances in time, it is a fallacy to regard them as fixed public debts. They are theoretical debts. They do not involve paying interest. They are debts which will not actually be paid, as all governments are constantly breaking their promises to pensioners. We did so in 1981, when we linked pension increases to prices instead of earnings, and again in the recent Pensions Act.

In any case, while Britain may have smaller obligations to future pensioners, we have other obligations which are substantial but do not figure as national debt. Decommissioning nuclear power stations, for example, will be a burden on future generations. Our domestic financial arrangements

will have to take this into account at the appropriate time. Finally, the Committee's gloom about the future is not justified by the record. It cited workers' protests in Germany and France at social security reforms. (They might also have cited riots in Italy.) But these protests did not prevent substantial reforms being enacted. There is no reason for panic about problems which have long been signalled, which are fortunately not immediate but will have to be dealt with over the next few decades and which are in fact being addressed, if more slowly than required.

Defusing the time bomb requires major changes: a decrease in the net cost of PAYG pensions themselves, and a move towards greater reliance on privately funded pensions. The first can take the form of higher contributions, a cut in benefits or both. (The biggest impact comes from raising the retirement age.)

In fact, there has been a spate of reforms in continental countries in the past few years. The reforms in Italy, the Amato reforms of 1992 and the Dini reforms of 1995, are perhaps the most impressive. Pension increases have been linked to prices; the expensive "seniority pension" which enabled many to retire

COMMENT AND ANALYSIS 9
A lot of money goes a long way



Paul Foot

FROM the Stock Exchange comes the thrilling news that Dieter Bock, chief executive of Lonrho, made £100 million in clear profit in a single sale of the money? Since Lonrho makes most of its profit in Africa, what about an imaginative hand-out to stop African children starving to death? A new report from Oxfam calls for a reduction in the national debt of Uganda from 30 per cent of the value of its exports to 20 per cent. Oxfam reckons this marginal reform would release 80 million dollars a year, which would provide clean water for 1,000,000 Ugandans, 50,000 primary school teachers with a full set of teaching materials, and health care for an extra two million.

Mr Bock's windfall could do all that for two years. Oxfam calculates that if the debt reduction could be sustained for five years, the extra money would save the lives of 398,000 Ugandan children, prevent the deaths of 13,000 women who would otherwise die in childbirth and secure a full primary education for 2,000,000 children who don't get any education at all. Mr Bock's £100m is not enough for that, but what if he teamed up with Michael and Julie Kirkham, who were also selling shares last week. They flogged off their stake in their father's furniture firm for £112m. With Mr Bock's £100m, this would easily save all those mothers and children in Uganda. But, in a glorious vindication of the City view that personal wealth will "trickle down" to the poor, the Kirkhams explained that they "wanted to develop a wider portfolio of investment interests".

IF YOU want to understand what is going on at the Ridings school in Halifax, read the speech in the Commons on October 29 of the town's MP, Alice Mahon, who is still, unfashionably, proud to call herself a socialist. "Riding," she revealed, comes from an old Yorkshire word "thridling", meaning "divide into three", an exact description of government policy on state education.

Somehow, Halifax escaped the drive in the 1970s (spearheaded by Margaret Thatcher) to make state schools comprehensive and thus ensure an even and fair distribution of educational resources. Now the government is hell-bent on the old educational apartheid, creaming off children from richer families into grammar or grant-maintained schools. This policy has triumphed in Halifax, which has two grammar schools, two grant-maintained schools and four state schools whose resources are cut and capped as fast as their rivals are subsidised. Alice Mahon paraded the shocking statistics. The Ridings has 135 children with special needs. The nearest grammar school has one (the other has three). The new privileged sector has been made possible only by the most relentless discrimination against the poor. Having created the conditions for hopelessness among the dispossessed, the government and its smug inspectors launch a savage attack on their victims. "Close down the schools, exclude children, beat them."

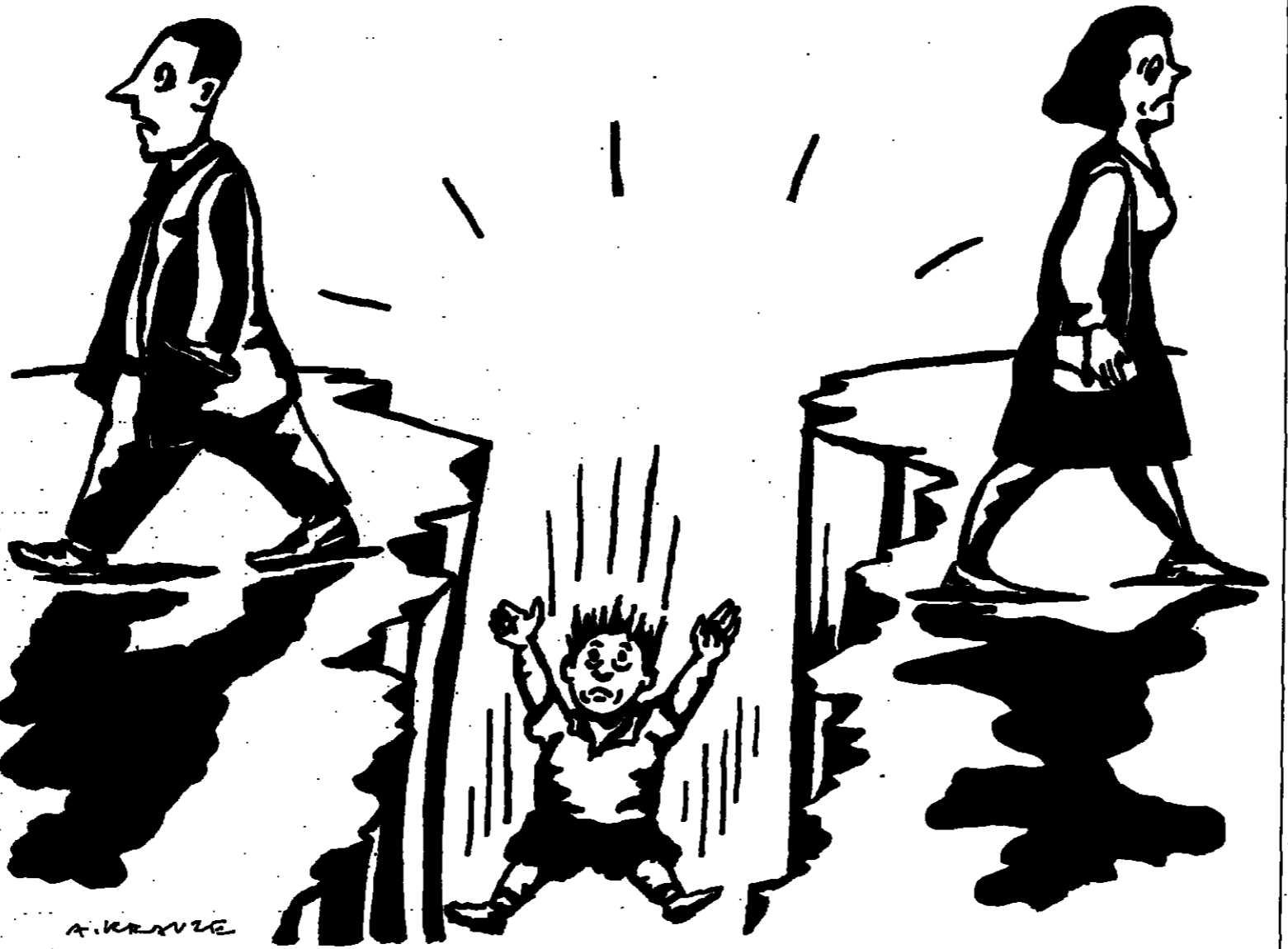
JOINING Mrs Whipplash in new reactionary complacency is Lady Howe, a Tory who once boasted liberal credentials. She chairs the Broadstairs Standards Council, which has ordered Channel 4 to make a public apology for a scene in Brookside showing a brother and sister in bed together. This is the same prudish and pompous censorship which, in the view of the poet Shelley, ruined his longest poem, Laon and Cythra. The lovers in the poem were brother and sister - their shared heritage heightened their love and scorned the sexual taboos of church and state. Laon swears that he will launch a living heart which could unite/Like ours, or celebrate the bridal night/ With such close sympathies."

Charles Ollier refused to publish the poem unless the incestuous references were removed. Against his better judgment, and to his eternal regret, Shelley censored his own poem and changed its name. Not much, it seems, has changed in the last 180 years.

Prejudice against incest - as reactionary and cruel as prejudice against any other form of sexual activity between adults who consent to it - is still a menace. Channel 4 should refuse to apologise. If that leads to a prosecution, all the better.

SHOCKED by the remarkable solidarity of the remarkable workers in voting once again (by 64,919 to 40,581) to continue their strikes against "teamworking" (sackings and speed-up), the government's intellectual giant, Ian Lang, proposes a new law to insist that no union ballot vote can stand unless it is supported by a majority of those eligible to vote. No doubt Mr Lang will include a ban on any government taking office without a similar majority.

Such a law would have disqualified every government since universal suffrage, and especially this one.



Paul Barker argues that children fare much better if their parents are together - and stay together - rather than if they are brought up in a single-parent family
For the children's sake

IN A LEADER last week the Guardian perversely praised the new sentiment of values for schools, because it didn't promote "the traditional cornflake version of a heterosexual married couple and their children". I despair. This is, in fact, by far the most usual form of family, it is also the best kind for the people who matter most - the children. Every piece of serious research confirms this.

Today, an authoritative report, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, confirms that "the traditional family is still the norm". The study, Parenting In The 1990s, checked out 4,000 mothers and fathers, all in their early 30s. Three-quarters of them were married.

But life is more like a movie than a snapshot. Things don't stay frozen. Typically, life as a lone parent lasts for only about three and a half years (according to a Policy Studies Institute survey last year).

It seems, sometimes, that husbands and wives behave like children themselves. If they can't have everything, they walk Kellogg's and for our children. The good news is that, despite the widespread impression to the contrary, four out of five children currently live in a two-parent family (Social Trends, 1996). This is fortunate, because all studies show that, on average, children are better off in a traditional family: less likely to be ill, poorer fed, or in trouble at school. Of course, there are exceptions. Money can ease the risks. Contrarywise, traditional families can fall. But the average remains stubbornly the same. It is a question of the odds. These are stacked against

Oxfam Tragedy in Eastern Zaire

It's here: the situation we've been warning the world about for two years has exploded. Already, one million people are fleeing the fighting. It doesn't matter whether they are Hutu, Tutsi, Zairean, or Rwandan. Starvation, thirst and disease will kill them, even if the bullets don't.

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Barry Porter

The perky picador of politics



Willing rebel... Porter

AWITTY, quirky light has gone out in the House of Commons with the death, at 57 from cancer, of Barry Porter, for 17 years the Conservative MP for Bebbington and Ellesmere Port, and later South Wirral...

Unhappily, in the pre-Nolan sleaze disclosures it emerged that Barry was willing, for £1,500, to introduce a businessman to a cabinet minister. The businessman was bogus, a Sunday Times reporter...

he was still a man of the right. He wanted more curbs on unions, and permission for rugby teams to play in apartheid South Africa. But his realism led him to speak out and say, in May 1990, that it was time for Mrs Thatcher to hang up her boots...

ment's hands. Until August 1996, he was hoping to fight his South Wirral seat again, although the last council elections had shown a 15 per cent swing from the local Tories...

Eugène Polyakov

High flyer, happy in the wings

FROM the moment Eugène Polyakov, who has died at the age of 53, announced his return to the Paris opera his 1996 colleagues and dancers alike were impatient to hear his familiar "Bonjour la danse" echo through the rehearsal studios...

Rudolf and I were friends," Polyakov told me. "It was more that he looked after me and advised me what to do. I'd just arrived in western Europe and things were not easy. Rudolf went out of his way to help me. He was so very, very kind."

'It was not so much that Rudolf and I were friends, he went out of his way to help me'

From the Bolshoi to the Paris Opéra... Polyakov

Roy Ralston

A master of the Mosquito

IN December 1942, Royal Air Force Mosquito pilot Roy Ralston awaited a German troop train's arrival at a tunnel on the Paris-Soissons line. When the train carriage was inside the tunnel, he hit the entrance with two 500-pound bombs...

Ralston, who has died aged 81, was an extremely skilful low-level flier. In the second world war he rose from sergeant-pilot to wing commander, receiving a clutch of medals. For many of his 91 sorties he flew the phenomenally fast de Havilland Mosquito "wooden wonder". It could have been made for him.

Born in Manchester, he joined the Royal Air Force as a short-trousered 15-year-old apprentice in 1930, graduating as a metal fitter. In 1937, he gained his wings as a sergeant pilot and joined the 108 squadron as it was re-equipping with the Bristol Blenheim bombers, part of the late 1930s British rearmament programme...

Ken Henry Wing Commander Joseph Roy George Ralston, pilot, born January 12, 1915; died October 8, 1996



Pillar of the BBC's African services... Tetteh-Lartey

Alex Tetteh-Lartey

From Ghana to the world

FOR more than 30 years after he left his native Ghana for Britain, the voice of Alex Tetteh-Lartey, who has died aged 64, was familiar to millions of listeners to the BBC African and World Services; and for almost as long, his face, if not his name, was recognisable to millions of viewers of TV soaps and drama in this country. He will also be remembered as a sportsman, teacher and generous lawyer.

From the Bolshoi to the Paris Opéra... Polyakov

Letter

Carole Newman writes: Robert Crossman (Obituary, October 29) had a great interest in older people. His last real working assignment was as a trainer for the Greater London Forum for the Elderly's project which trained advocates to assist frail elderly people who were being assessed for community care services...

Birthdays

Art Carney, actor, 78; Walter Cronkite, US anchorman, 80; Prof Arthur Forsy, principal, Strirling University, 68; Elgar Howarth, musician and conductor, 61; Thomas Klestil, president of Austria, 64; Air Commodore Philippa Marshall, former director, WRAF, 76; Rodney Marsh, cricketer, 49; Michael Meacher, Labour MP, 57; Prof Jill Rubery, parents' economist, 45; Air Commandant Dame Anne Stephens, former director, WRAF, 84; Loretta Swit, television actress, 52; Lena Zavaroni, entertainer, 31.

In Memoriam

WILLIAM OWEN, poet, Born Oswestry, 18th March 1902; died in London, Friday 4th November 1978. Was in the first ever London School of Poetry, 17 Bedford Square, 1957-1961.

Jackdaw



Hardliner

THE mental gymnastics and verbal antics that hypocritical teachers' union leaders display in blaming everyone but themselves for dismal education standards and misbehaviour of their pupils never cease to fascinate. The education minister turns, at long last, that teachers should emphasise the importance of marriage and the family unit to children from an early age to instil a responsible and caring attitude in their formative years.

Fiery talk

PROCEEDINGS at the 8th session: (Lemania) Madam Chair, I thank my most distinguished colleague from San Serifo for his most perspicacious observation that fire has in fact broken out at the back of the room. However, if I may draw your attention to paragraph six, line three, of his proposed revised text, I would like to suggest that the words "fire" and "fighting" should in fact be not be separated, as together they form a compound noun. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Parlour talk

GEORGE McKay has composed a guide to the UK's massage parlours. The new revised guide boasts over 400 parlours compiled from anonymous visits nationwide. Each venue is awarded a star rating as follows: * Poor ** Average *** Good **** Very good ***** Outstanding The guide informs where in Edinburgh you can be greeted by a parrot; in Rotterdam you can win a massage on a fruit machine. Derby offers thematic costumes including nurses, policeman and Catwoman. In London you can opt for overnight accommodation for extended massage sessions, whilst in Herts there is a parlour which offers a serenade service from the hostess. In Luton and Hove, patrons can choose their massage from a photographic portfolio. Adverts in Extract magazine. They have obviously seen a few to rate them.

Devils' play

HALLOWEEN is the Devil's holiday. Some Christian churches believe this glorification of evil should be discouraged or stamped out. But others embrace Halloween, slightly adjusted. At the Abundant Life Christian Centre, the approach is part Dante, part Disney, but it is "100 per cent message-oriented," says the Rev Kenan Roberts, youth pastor of the Arvada, Colo Church. The point is, literally, to scare the hell out of people, especially teenagers. For a \$6 ticket, visitors get a 30-minute trip into Hell House, led by their own "demon tour guide."

Emily Sheffield





Dwight D. Eisenhower

Ronald Reagan

Bill Clinton

George H.W. Bush

US economy



President	Average annual GDP growth rate, %
Truman (1945-1953)	2.1
Eisenhower (1953-1961)	2.5
Kennedy (1961-1963)	4.4
Johnson (1963-1969)	4.1
Nixon-Ford (1969-1974)	3.2
Carter (1977-1981)	2.5
Reagan (1981-1989)	4.4
Bush (1989-1993)	3.2
Clinton (1993-1995)	-1.2



Bill Clinton

ELECTION BATTLEGROUND/Across the pond, the monetarists have been rumbled

Straws in the wind for radical change



Larry Elliott

THE 20th century has belonged to America in the way that the 19th century belonged to Britain. And, just as the last years of the Victorian era were marked by arrogance mixed with self-doubt in London, so the approach of the millennium is a time for reassessment in Washington.

America's pre-eminence has been overwhelming. After sucking in immigrants, manufacturing goods and ideas in the first hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, it has subsequently exported its culture, its military strength and the fruits of its relentless inventiveness.

For Britain, America is pivotal. The "special relationship" has always been something of a myth, but the transmission mechanism of the English language has meant there is a strong bond. Whatever happens in America tends to happen, after a suitable lag, in Britain. From rock and roll to monetarism, from fast food to out-of-town

shopping malls, where America leads, Britain follows. The lack of historical baggage means it is a society in a constant state of flux.

Both main parties in Britain recognise this influence. Labour was jubilant when Bill Clinton won in 1992, the first Democratic presidential victory in 16 years seemingly pointing the way to a new pragmatic form of left-of-centre politics. Similarly, the 1994 Republican landslide was lauded by the free-market right as a sign that the West was turning its back on Big Government.

Since his nadir in 1994, Mr Clinton has bounced back. The fear that the Republicans aim to slash Medicare and Medicaid, and Newt Gingrich's decision last year to close down the government have turned the Clinton presidency around. He now looks the epitome of centrist moderation set against the wild men of the right.

But the anger and bewilderment that two years ago brought Mr Gingrich to prominence have not disappeared. Many Americans are working harder simply to maintain living standards. Between 1973 and 1992, for the bottom 80 per cent, the wages of full-time male workers fell. Only the top 20 per cent saw their real incomes rise, while the bottom 40 per cent saw their pay in real terms slump by more than 20 per cent. Household incomes fell by far less, because more women were entering the workforce and their real incomes were rising. However, since 1992, for all but an elite, real incomes of women have been falling as well. The conversion of well-paid jobs into lower-paid employment is typified by median earnings of middle-aged men, down a third over the past quarter of a century.

An added complication is that future trends in social security spending do not look good. The cost of health care and pensions is set to rise inexorably, putting renewed pressure on the budget.

One way of responding to this combustible mixture is to rely on the American "can-do" spirit. To a large extent, this is what Clinton has done, although his *laissez-faire* approach has been adorned with a call for investment in human capital and the desire to harness the power of the information super-highway.

It could be argued that this is about as much as could be expected. As Harold Meyerson put it in the latest edition of the American magazine, *Dissent*: "They [the Democrats] weren't born for an age like this; they are (or were) the party of government at a moment when government everywhere is in retreat."

But there are already signs that more radical solutions are being sought. Unless living standards for the bulk of Americans rise, the even



more centrist Al Gore may be under pressure from both left and right when he seeks to become president in 2000.

Even over the past 10 years, Milton Friedman and the rest of the Chicago school of monetarists have not been having it all their own way. Over the next 10 years the debate is likely to intensify in at least three areas. The first is whether the US can continue

to spend almost \$300 billion (£180 billion) a year — at least six times what Russia or China is spending — on defence now the Cold War is over. The short answer, particularly given rising welfare bills, is that it can't.

Second, there will be an attempt to make the tax system more progressive. Trickle-down — the big idea of supply-siders in the 1980s — has failed. Cutting taxes on rich individuals and companies has not boosted growth by encouraging savings and investment. In 1980, the top marginal rate of tax was 70 per cent and the US savings rate was 8.2 per cent. According to the holy writ of the supply-siders, the cut to 31 per cent

by 1990 should have boosted savings. But it didn't. The savings rate tumbled throughout the decade to stand by 1990 at 5 per cent.

Allowing large chunks of the corporate sector to escape tax should have encouraged more investment. Wrong again. In 1990, when corporation tax accounted for 26 per cent of federal revenue, investment as a share of gross domestic product was around 10 per cent. Forty years later, the share of federal revenue accounted for by corporate tax was down to 9 per cent. Investment was still 10 per cent of GDP.

What has happened is that the less well-off have had to shoulder a bigger portion of

the tax burden, mainly through the flat-rate social security tax. Living from pay cheque to pay cheque, low- and middle-income groups have been unable to sustain the rates of consumption growth and personal savings seen in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, the overall growth rate has slowed.

Unless something is done to revamp the tax system and redistribute the fruits of growth, America is set to be the scene of the decisive struggle between free traders and protectionists.

A new book by the American economist Ravi Batra points out that, far from putting the brakes on American growth, high tariffs have his-

torically encouraged expansion and innovation. Despite a doubling of tariffs in the 1920s, America enjoyed a productivity revolution and growth soared. The halving of GDP during the Depression was due not to the fall in exports caused by protectionism, but to fiscal orthodoxy, which insisted taxes should go up during a downturn.

For those eager for change, the portents are good, however the battle resolves itself. A century ago in Britain, free trade emerged victorious over protection, but the political fallout was an agenda for change that within 10 years allowed a reformist Liberal government to change the face of Britain.

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Action man rolls back the right

Worldview Edward Balls

BILL Clinton looks set to be re-elected in tomorrow's US presidential election. He deserves to be re-elected, too.

No left-of-centre progressive could fail to have misgivings about some of the promises Mr Clinton has been forced to make in his battle against a rabidly right-wing Republican Congress. But his humiliation of Bob Dole's attempt to revive the free-market "trickle-down" rhetoric of the Reagan-Bush 1980s marks an important economic victory for the left.

The Democrats are going to the polls with an impressive economic performance to boast about. US economic growth has been strong — faster than in the Bush or Reagan years. Investment in the economy has been rapid: 10.5 million jobs have been created since 1992.

America's economic performance stands in marked contrast to the stagnation of con-

tinental Europe and Britain's anemic, investment-starved upturn. But can the Clinton administration claim credit?

The answer is an emphatic Yes, on a number of counts.

Mr Clinton's achievement has been to bury Reaganomics. The free-market ideology of the 1980s was based on a number of flawed ideas: that the free market knows best, low inflation is the only necessary precondition for sustained growth, the best role for government is no role.

But the biggest error was the notion that cutting income taxes would, by itself, stimulate growth and reduce the budget deficit. The results were different: a persistently high budget deficit and higher long-term interest rates which stunted investment across the board and sucked investment funds away from developing countries to the world's richest nation.

The first important step the Clinton administration had to take in 1992 was to put an end to the fiscal profligacy of the 1980s. Bringing the federal budget deficit under control was necessary if investment was to grow. This Mr Clinton has achieved. But a credible

fiscal policy not only reduced long-term interest rates. It also allowed monetary policy, under Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan, to be much more growth- and employment-oriented than would otherwise have been possible.

This sound macro-economic framework is part of the explanation for Mr Clinton's economic success. While Mr Reagan was the right's populist, the Clinton administration stood up to Perot- and Buchanan-style protectionism.

Most important, Mr Clinton has realised that the opportunities globalisation and open markets bring require an active government which equips people and companies for the future. There are almost half a million Americans in school-to-work apprenticeships. More than 15 million Americans receive the Earned Income Tax Credit which boosts take-home pay from low-wage jobs. The administration has raised the

federal minimum wage to ensure that this tax credit goes to low-income workers, not unscrupulous employers.

No one in the Clinton administration can deny that these measures are only a start. Levels of savings and investment remain, as in Britain, much too low. The US education system still fails millions. Employment policy has not begun to address the problems of the young, unskilled unemployed in inner cities and the social disaster this is bringing. Mr Clinton's decision to sign the Republican welfare bill, removing the federal safety net for single parents without providing new opportunities, was a setback to the progressive cause.

But the US political system is based on unhappy, often debilitating compromise. For that, Mr Clinton cannot be blamed. By challenging the orthodoxies of the 1980s, taking tough economic decisions in the first part of his term and asserting the case for active government, he has done the progressive cause good service. And more so if he wins.

The author is economic adviser to the shadow chancellor

Fiery tales and fantasy coups in the palaces of the lords of misrule

Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

STRANGE, mad celebrations are due tomorrow, and we are not talking about the presidential election. Bonfire night comes but once a year, although the debate concerning those most deserving of a place on top rumbles around the calendar.

By now, surely, the water and power chiefs have been consigned to the flames, along with the bond gurus of the City and Wall Street, the chairmen of all the big banks and the EU fisheries commissioner.

Who next? Well, maybe we do not need anybody. Perhaps burning people is the easy option. On this being misrule, it may be more constructive to ask oneself the simple questions: What have I done for Bonfire today? What have I done to ensure that Britain does not become the enterprise centre of Europe? Have I made a point of being uncompetitive, or have I spent November 5 in an entrepreneurial daze?

Bonfire should be a celebration of uncompetitiveness. Inflation-busting pay deals ought to be struck, unit-labour costs should soar above the European average. Ask this: Have I been as uncompetitive as possible? No? Pathetic.

Next year will be even more fun. As the flames crackle around Chancellor Brown — who by then will have broken all his tax promises — revellers will boast of their non-communitarian behaviour, their "inappropriate" response to the "skills revolution" and the general absence of stakeholding as a meaningful factor in their lives.

It ought to go without saying that Bonfire 1997 should see the greatest effort to ensure that Britain under no circumstances meets any of the criteria for joining the single currency.

But that is for the future. Tomorrow we burn the free marketeers for perhaps the last time. With them should be dumped all the

ghastly, bossy schemes dreamed up to manage the horrendous side-effects of the market economy. Into the bonfire with the "health of the nation" fitness target, the multiple-choice identity-card scheme and the video surveillance cameras.

It is fitting that the US election should fall on November 5. It was, after all, President Reagan who enunciated the most famous "target" of the supply-side revolution: unrolling a package of tax cuts, he exhorted the American people to "Go for it!"

But he's getting on a bit now, and burning him would perhaps be unbalanced. On second thoughts — on to the bonfire with him.

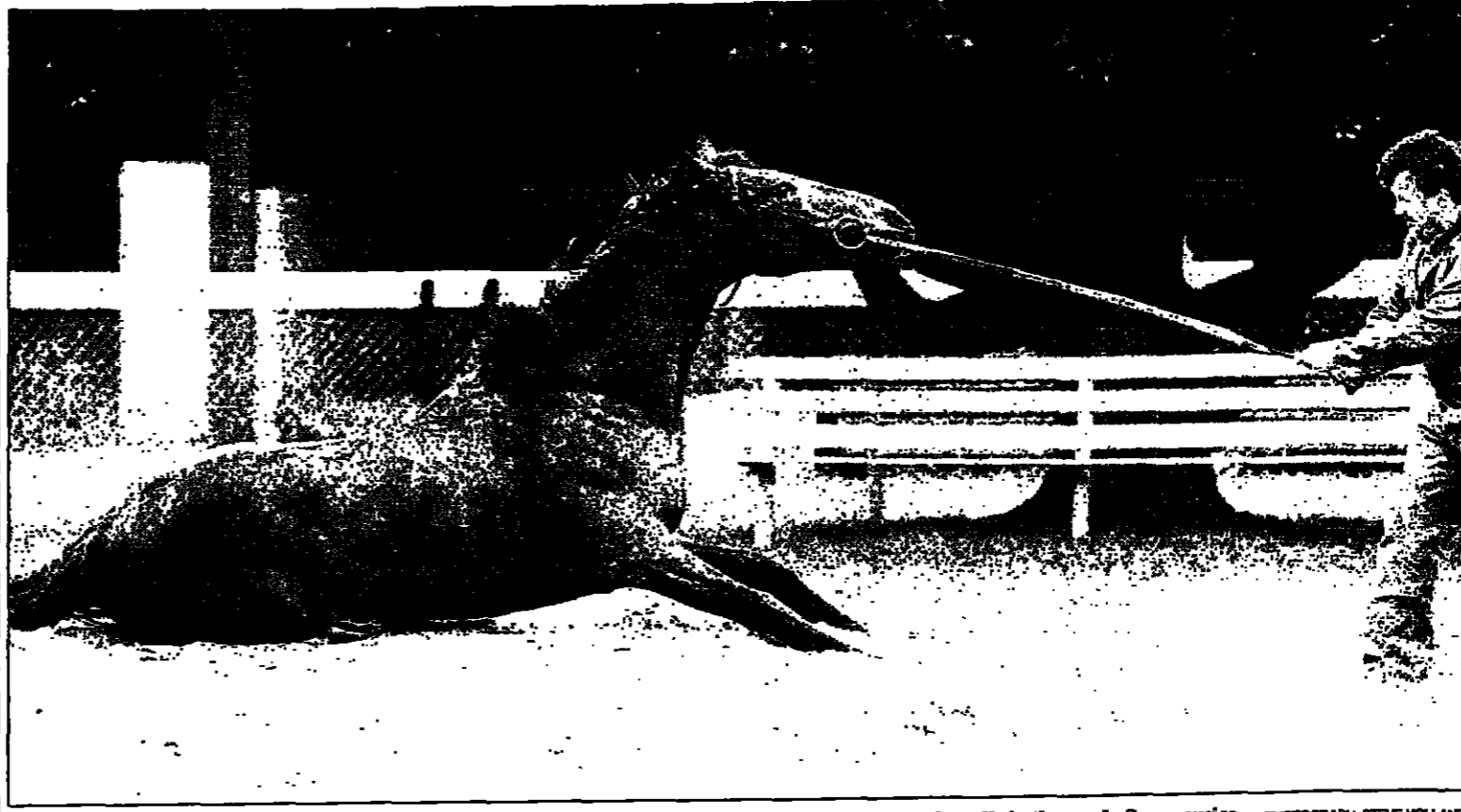
Racing

Schindler top of the Cup list in Oz

Chris Curtain scents better each-way value in a 14-l home-trained outsider

PRISCILLA PRESLEY, who was in town to plug her new perfume, presented the prizes for the AS1 Derby (£500,000) Victoria Derby on Saturday when Melbourne's annual Spring Racing Carnival got under way...

lengths in hand. Oscar's local supporters were heartened yesterday when he was drawn nicely in 12 while the top-weight and second favourite Dorienemus having looked crabbed in his final training gallop at Flemington on Saturday...



Playtime... Peter Chapple-Hyam keeps a tight rein on his Melbourne Cup runner Court Of Honour as he rolls in the sand after exercise

One Man still chasing gold

Chris Hawkins

ONE MAN was in "good order" yesterday morning at the Greystoke Castle stables of Gordon Richards after a virtuous performance in the King George VI Chase at Kempton...

one can get. Steeplechasing is fraught with problems and danger yet One Man and Dunwoody (a treble at the meeting) made it look ridiculously easy.

It is far too early to be wagging on the Cheltenham showpiece, but Hill's will give 8-1 about One Man, after cutting his odds from 12's. Imperial Call is 4-1 favourite, with Friday's debutant winner, Danoli, 25-1.

later this month. Edward O'Grady, who trains Sound Man, said: "He probably wasn't as fit as I thought. The Tingle Creek Chase at Sandown next month will be his next race."

Edwards to give up training

JOHN EDWARDS, the Ross-On-Wye trainer, ends his 29-year career in a fortnight's time. Edwards, who took out a licence in 1967, had his most successful season in the 1988 campaign when he sent out a total of 78 winners...

Big race line-up

Table listing race details for 4.20GMT TOMORROW, including race names, distances, and participants.

Newcastle (N.H.) with form guide

Table of race results and form guides for Newcastle (N.H.), including race numbers, names, and participants.

Southwell (All-weather) runners and riders

Table of race results and form guides for Southwell (All-weather), including race numbers, names, and participants.

Plumpton National Hunt card

Table of race results and form guides for Plumpton National Hunt, including race numbers, names, and participants.

Zambezi looks in fine spirit

ZAMBEZI SPIRIT (2.35) was an impressive winner around the tricky Plumpton circuit two weeks ago and is napped to follow up in today's Jolly Tanners Handicap at the Sussex track, writes Chris Hawkins.

RACELINE advertisement with contact information for Newcastle, Plumpton, and Southwell, including phone numbers and website details.

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including "The Big prize ex to lose it" and "bliceman".

NEW YORK MARATHON

The Big Apple's prize exhibit begins to lose its bloom

The world's original big city road race is in crisis two decades after it was first run. Duncan Mackay traces its decline from its high point of the early Eighties

LAST Tuesday more than three million packed Broadway to give the New York City Marathon a ticker-tape welcome after their first World Series win in 18 years...

'Americans are seldom in major races; they're all running lower level ones to make money'

cal fitness of the American people. Unfortunately the lack of success at the sharp end of the race for the past 14 years has also spoken volumes about the superior fitness of elite runners from Europe and Africa.

New York in the American public consciousness. The race was taken to the masses when it became a city-wide event and spurred copy-cat races all over the world.

But for all its problems, New York still has an overwhelming appeal for thousands of joggers and fun runners from all around the world.

Although Lebow died of cancer two years ago, Allan Steinfeld, his chosen successor as race director, has remained steadfastly bullish about the event's standing.

Grete Waitz of Norway is a case in point. She was on the verge of retiring in 1978 until Lebow persuaded her to run in New York. She won in a world best time and returned to triumph eight more times as part of a highly successful and richly rewarding second career.

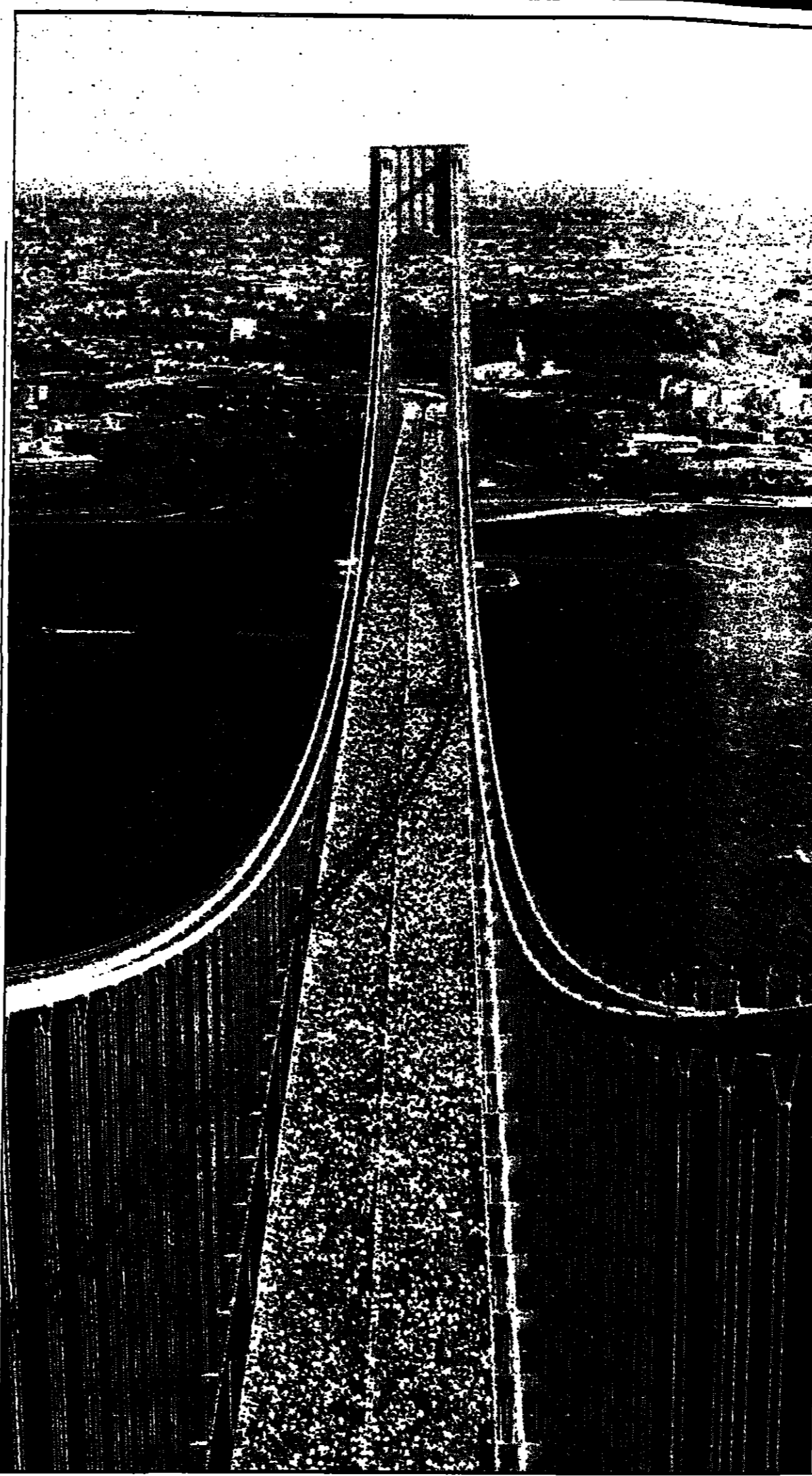
Policeman wins for Italy



Winning salute... Leone holds his arms aloft

GIACOMO LEONE, an Italian policeman running only his fourth marathon, ran clear of the field late in the race to win the New York City event yesterday.

and the Kenyan Joseph Kamau third. Kenyans also finished fourth and sixth. Anuta Catuna of Romania was a surprise women's winner in 2:28.17 as the defending champion, Tegla Loroupe of Kenya, headed after leading early on and finished seventh.



Mass movement... the runners in the 21st New York City Marathon crowd across the Verrazano Bridge yesterday

Golf Langer sweeps to novel victory

Michael Britten in Hong Kong

BERNHARD LANGER achieved his first victory for 14 months when he overcame a strong challenge from South Korea's Kang Wook-soon to capture the Alfred Dunhill Masters here yesterday.

The German won by two strokes after a closing round of 65 at Fanning for a 17-under-par total of 267, with Kang (66) finishing a stroke ahead of the Australian Scott Laycock.

South Africa's Ernie Els (68) was Seve Ballesteros took 23rd place (73) and Colin Montgomerie finished in 38th after incurring three penalty shots at the 4th on his way to a 7 for 253.

Langer's first success since the European Open in Dublin during September 1995 was his first with the broom-handle putter he first used publicly in Paris eight weeks ago.

He amassed 25 birdies and an eagle on the greens where he won the 1991 Hong Kong Open and, had he not made a mess of the short 15th in both the third and fourth rounds, his victory would have been even more comprehensive.

Langer took six at the 190-yard par three on Saturday and yesterday, with three strokes in hand, took a double-bogey five against Kang's two to lose his lead. On both occasions he found poor lies when missing the green and was unable to reach it with recovery chips from the clinging cow-grass. But Langer retaliated by holing from just off the next green for a ninth birdie whereas the South Korean found sand and was unable to make a par four.

Hockey Hightown brought low

Patrick Rowley

HIGHTOWN, the Women's National League champions who represent England in Europe next year, not only suffered an unexpected reverse at Doncaster but crashed to their heaviest defeat, an 8-2 hiding by their northern rivals.

Doncaster had previously lost every league match against Hightown but their captain Karen O'Neill said: "We knew we could beat them after eliminating them from the cup last winter but 8-2 just everything went right for us in the second half."

Doncaster, who had managed only three goals all season, did not get ahead until early in the second period, then scored six times in the last 20 minutes. Claire Ferguson got four of the goals including her side's last three in three minutes.

Hightown's second defeat of the season sees them drop into the bottom half of the table, six points adrift of the leaders Slough, who handed Sutton their heaviest defeat. Slough won 6-1 with the England international Jane Smith (2), Julia Robertson, Karen Brown and Mandy Nicholls all scoring after a Jane Sixsmith equaliser.

Basketball Little guys take big tonking in a scarcely National Cup

Robert Pryce

IT took just one round of the Sainsbury's National Cup to erase all traces of National League interest. The three teams that survived the English Basketball Association competitions sub-committee's axe in May all perished at the hand of Sudweiser League clubs.

Having eliminated 22 National League clubs, it left the survivors incapable of competing by changing the cup's rules on foreign-player eligibility to accord with the Bud League's. Thus this year, for the first time since Oxford University's Rhodes Scholars dominated the competition in the late Sixties, teams may use up to five foreigners.

Rugby League South Wales back on first footing

There is still a chance that South Wales could play in the First Division next season, writes Paul Fitzpatrick.

Maurice Lindsay, the game's chief executive, confirmed yesterday that an inquiry about the position of the club had been made by the businessman Peter Thomas.

Snooker Shokat prepares for more national service

Gilve Everton in Bangkok

THE Accrington-born Shokat Ali, 26, who won the world and Pakistan's No. 1, today holds the key to Group C on the final day of World Cup round-robin action.

Neither Mohammed Saleh, who has won seven, or Farhan Mirza, four, are pushovers in one-frame situations but, without a couple of frames from Shokat, it is unlikely that Pakistan will win the four that would guarantee them a place in the quarter-finals - unless Thailand beat United Arab Emirates 9-0 to

force a one-frame play-off between Shokat and Thailand's No. 1 James Wattana, who is still in the world's top 16. Each frame Thailand drop to the UAE means one fewer Pakistan need to win.

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Five pages of sport

Racing Oscar Schindler tops the Cup list in Australia

12

Golf Langer fights back for his first victory of the year

13

SportExtra



Going for goal... the Newcastle striker Les Ferdinand makes a determined effort to get to the ball as the Middlesbrough defender Derek Whyte closes in during the home side's 3-1 victory at St James' Park

Premiership: Newcastle United 3, Middlesbrough 1

Beardsley keeps Newcastle in trim

Michael Walker sees the little old master celebrate his 700th domestic game in style

ONLY Liverpool or Middlesbrough could have prevented Newcastle returning to the top of the Premiership yesterday. In the end neither could do the necessary, so Newcastle leap-frogged Arsenal to go top, a position they occupied a fortnight ago after that start-time Manchester United game.

It was Newcastle's champagne moment, then this was their brown ale afternoon. The atmosphere was rowdy from start to finish and it was fitting that the bearded Peter Beardsley, making his 700th League and Cup appearance, should prove the difference between the sides.

He scored two goals, one a penalty shortly before half-time, the other midway through the second half, and came close to a hat-trick 15 minutes from time when Walsh pushed his shot over the bar.

Newcastle drew immediate consolation from the resulting corner. Robert Lee's shot from the edge of the area taking a huge deflection from Vickers and flying wide of the stranded and unfortunate Walsh for their third goal. Middlesbrough, though understandably deflated, at least managed a reply two minutes from time when their Danish international Mikkel Beck gave a glossy finish to Phil Stamp's typically earnest run, clipping the ball delicately over the advancing Srnicek.

It was the goal of the game and provided some evidence for Bryan Robson's view that his side had contributed much of the passion to this

ing come into this match without a League win since mid-September. The unusual quartet of Emerson, Juninho, Stamp and Mustoe gave them a grip in the torrid opening that saw a series of niggling confrontations. Robson rose from the bench to complain about a fifth-minute challenge by Batty on Emerson. Cox was booked for a reckless lunge at Elliott, who took a measure of revenge on Beck and also saw yellow. Batty, unsurprisingly, was booked too.

Newcastle were rattled, but Boro created only one clear

penalty against Ferencvaros on Tuesday night but made no mistake this time with a shot straight down the middle. Middlesbrough supporters chanted "One-nil to the referee" but Gary Willard's decision looked a correct one.

There was still time before the break for Gillespie to force a fine save from Walsh. Gillespie was again included in a Kevin Keegan line-up packed with forwards and, although the Irishman has plenty of defending to do in this three-at-the-back formation, he is clearly responding to the challenge.

After the interval Boro's hold slipped further and Ginola and Ferdinand both went close. There was still the odd squaring-up but none as unlikely as when Juninho headed for Albert. The diminutive Brazilian came off worse and was still protesting about it when Beardsley skipped past several red shirts to sidefoot his second goal coolly into the bottom corner.

A famous teetotaler made all the difference on a brown-ale day

contest and did not deserve to be on the wrong end of such a scolding. "I didn't think Newcastle cut us up at all," said the Middlesbrough manager. "We had a lot of possession and then we went to sleep. It was similar at Chelsea — we had a mad five minutes at the back."

Those shortcomings will have to be addressed by Robson if Middlesbrough are not to swirl into a downward spiral of Nottingham Forest proportions. Some might say they are already in one, hav-

chance. Mustoe controlling Beck's well-judged pass only to send a panicky shot high over the bar. It was half an hour before Walsh needed to make a save, from a Beardsley's snap shot but the incident gave Newcastle impetus.

Four minutes before half-time Stamp making his only mistake of the day, was robbed by Elliott. Beardsley roared on the loose ball and via Asprilla it arrived at Ginola's feet. The Frenchman charged at Cox, who dived in, bringing Ginola down. Beardsley had missed a

penalty against Ferencvaros on Tuesday night but made no mistake this time with a shot straight down the middle. Middlesbrough supporters chanted "One-nil to the referee" but Gary Willard's decision looked a correct one.

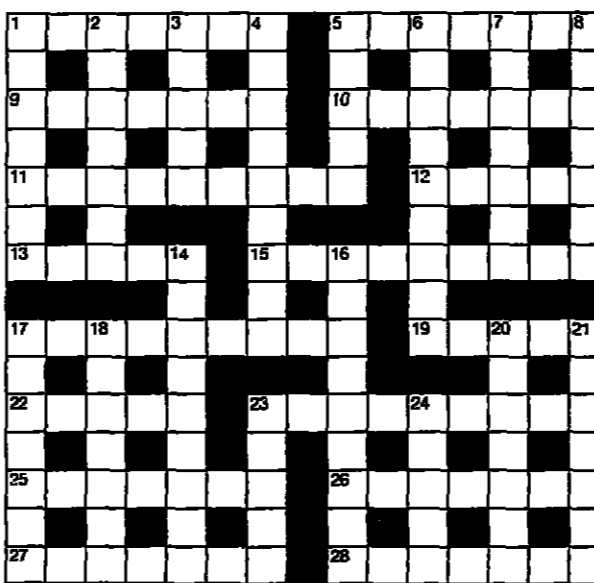
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"You have to win the battle first and then let the football take over," as Beardsley said afterwards. His manager had little to say, his thoughts diverted by an unexpected transfer request from Lee Clark. The former England Under-21 midfielder, displaced by Batty, is valued at around £3 million.

Guardian Crossword No 20,801

Set by Crispa



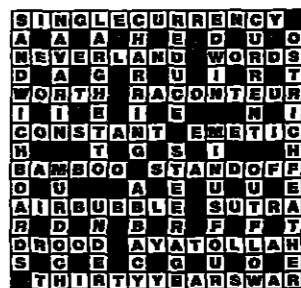
- Across
1 Discard can be a strong point (7)
5 Empty flat (7)
9 View taken of a vegetable with oily stuffing (7)
10 Marks made by skaters (7)
11 To look over clever is a bloomer (5)
12 Backing keen single woman (5)
13 Request a portion of pineapple additionally (5)
15 One needs to be patient to use such transport (5)
17 The handling of persons with complaints? (5)
19 Birds mean nothing at all to some sportsmen (5)
22 A jolly fellow no longer up the pole — at sea (5)
23 Reads nice for arranging in the home (5)
25 Evening work (7)
26 Generous gifts bestowed on

WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 20,794
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are R. H. Fomster of Canons, Dumfriesshire, D. P. Byrne of Newtonabbey, Co. Antrim, David Gibson of Brixham, Devon, Ron & Margaret Evey of Badgers Mount, Kent, and W. A. Bushrod of Burgess Hill, Sussex.

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eccentric regal characters going by ship (7)
27 Leave without second course (7)
28 There's little in a gun to pacify anybody (7)

- Down
1 Fail to enter prize photograph (5-2)
2 Man in three banks ensured it made headway (7)
3 Get a towel for the medical attendant — that's right! (5)
4 Come down on unsmiling foreign prince (5)
5 Laid into trendy lot (5)
6 Novel about the Left many would have suppressed (5)
7 A company inordinately wrapped up in design (7)
8 To zoom speed is unusual (7)
14 Fix and check an explosive device (5)
16 For soaking city sailing men (4,5)
17 Endeavoured to hold a painter up, so didn't get away early (7)
18 Copy to rivet attention (7)
20 Cheat over examination and there'll be a fight! (7)
21 Capital investment issue to be retained initially (7)
22 Oute proper, though blue (5)
24 The fish-vendor seldom has cooling in (5)



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